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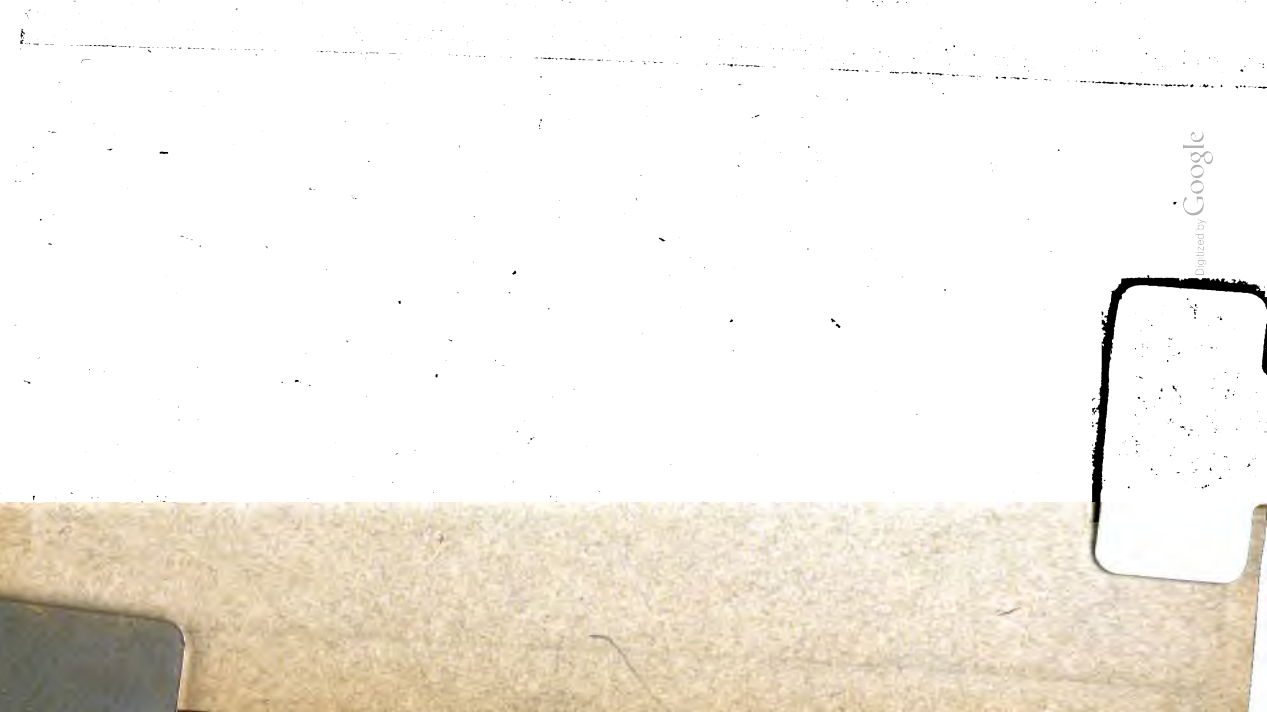
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Goldsmith's

ROMAN HISTORY.

ABRIDGED BY HIMSELF.

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THERE are ſome ſubjects on which a writer muſt decline all attempts to acquire fame, ſatisfied with being obſcurely uſeful. After ſuch a number of Roman Hiſtories, in all languages, ancient and modern, it would be but impoſture to pretend new diſcoveries, or to expect to offer any thing in a work of this kind, which has not been often anticipated by others. The facts which it relates have been an hundred times repeated, and every occurrence has been ſo variouſly conſidered, that learning can ſcarcely find a new anecdote, or genius give novelty to the old.

I hope, therefore, for the reader's indulgence, if, in the following attempt, it ſhall appear that my only aim was to ſupply a conciſe, plain, and unaffected narrative of the riſe and decline of a well known empire. I was contented to make ſuch a book as could not fail of being ſerviceable, though of all others the moſt unlikely to promote the reputation of the writer. Inſtead therefore of preſſing forward among the ambitious, I only claim the merit of knowing my own ſtrength, and falling back among the hindmoſt ranks with conſcious inferiority.

I am not ignorant, however, that it would be no ſuch difficult taſk to purſue the ſame arts by which many dull men every day acquire a reputation in hiſtory; ſuch might eaſily be attained, by fixing on ſome obſcure period to write upon, where much ſeeming erudition might be diſplayed, almoſt unknown, becauſe not worth remembering; and many max-

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ims in politics might be advanced entirely new, because altogether falſe. But I have purſued a contrary method, chuſing the moſt noted periods in hiſtory, and offering no remarks but ſuch as I thought ſtrictly true.

The reaſons of my choice were, that we had no hiſtory of this ſplendid period in our language, but what was either too voluminous for common uſe, or too meanly written to pleaſe. Catrou and Rouille's Hiſtory, in ſix volumes folio, tranſlated into our language by Bundy, is entirely unſuited to the time and expenſe mankind uſually chuſe to beſtow upon this ſubject: Rollin, and his continuator Crevier, making above thirty volumes octavo, ſeem to labour under the ſame imputation; as likewiſe Hooke, who has ſpent three quartos upon the republic alone, the reſt of his undertaking remaining unfiniſhed*. There only therefore remained the Hiſtory by Echard, in five volumes octavo, whoſe plan and mine ſeemed to coincide; and, had his execution been equal to his deſign, it had precluded the preſent undertaking. But the truth is, it is ſo poorly written, the facts ſo crouded, the narration ſo ſpiritleſs, and the characters ſo indiſtinctly marked, that the moſt ardent curioſity muſt cool in the peruſal; and the nobleſt tranſactions that ever warmed the human heart, as deſcribed by him muſt ceaſe to intereſt.

I have endeavoured, therefore, in the preſent work (or rather compilation) to obviate the inconveniences ariſing from the exuberance of the former, as well as from the unpleaſantneſs of the latter. Too much time may be given even to laudable purſuits, and there is none more apt than this, to allure the ſtudent from more neceſſary branches of learning, and, if I may ſo expreſs it, entirely to engroſs his induſtry. What is here offered therefore may be

* A fourth volume has been ſince publiſhed.

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ſufficient for all but ſuch as make hiſtory the peculiar buſineſs of their lives; to ſuch the moſt tedious narrative will ſeem but an abridgment, as they meaſure the merit of work rather by the quantity than the quality of its contents. Others, however, who think more ſoberly, will agree, that in ſo extenſive a field as that of the tranſactions of Rome, more judgment may be ſhewn by ſelecting what is important, than by adding what is obſcure. The hiſtory of this empire has been extended to ſix volumes folio; and I aver, that, with very little learning, it might be increaſed to ſixteen more; but what would this be but to load the ſubject with unimportant facts, and ſo to weaken the narration, that like the empire it deſcribed, it muſt neceſſarily ſink beneath the weight of its own acquiſitions!

But while I thus have endeavoured to avoid prolixity, it was found no eaſy matter to prevent crowding the facts, and to give every narrative its proper play. In reality, no art can contrive to avoid oppoſite defects; he who indulges in minute particularities will be often languid, and he who ſtudies conciſeneſs will as frequently be dry and unentertaining. As it was my aim to compriſe as much as poſſible in the ſmalleſt compaſs, it is feared the work will often be ſubject to the latter imputation; but it was impoſſible to furniſh the public with a cheap Roman hiſtory, and at the ſame time to give all that warmth to the narrative, all thoſe colourings to the deſcription, which works of twenty times the bulk have room to exhibit. I ſhall be fully ſatisfied, therefore, if it furniſhes an intereſt ſufficient to allure the reader to the end; and this is a claim to which few abridgments can juſtly make pretenſions.

To theſe objections there are ſome who may add, that I have rejected many of the modern improvements in Roman hiſtory, and that every character is left in full poſſeſſion of that fame or infamy which it

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obtained from its contemporaries, or those who wrote immediately after. I acknowledge the charge, for it appears now too late to rejudge the virtues or the vices of those men who were but very incompletely known even to their own historians. The Romans, perhaps, upon many occasions, formed wrong ideas of virtue; but they were by no means so ignorant or abandoned in general as not to give their brightest characters the greatest share of their applause; and I do not know whether it be fair to try Pagan actions by the standard of Christian morality.

But, whatever may be my execution of this work, I have very little doubts about the success of the undertaking; the subject is the noblest that ever employed human attention; and instead of requiring a writer's aid, will support him with its splendour. The empire of the world, rising from the meanest origin, and growing great by a strict veneration for religion, and an implicit confidence in its commanders, continually changing the mode, but seldom the spirit of its government, being a constitution in which the military power, whether under the name of citizens or soldiers, almost always prevailed; adopting all the improvements of other nations with the most indefatigable industry, and submitting to be taught by those whom it afterwards subdued: this is a picture that must affect us however it be disposed; these materials must have their value under the hand of the meanest workman.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH OF ROME.

CHAP. I.

Of the Original of the Romans.

THE Romans were particularly desirous of being thought descended from the gods, as if to hide the meanness of their real ancestry. Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, having escaped from the destruction of Troy, after many adventures and dangers, arrived in Italy [A. M. 2294.] where he was kindly received by Latinus, king of the Latins, who gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. Turnus, king of the Rutuli, was the first who opposed Æneas, he having long made pretensions to Lavinia himself. A war ensued, in which the Trojan hero was victorious, and Turnus slain. In consequence of this, Æneas built a city which was called Lavinium, in honour of his wife: and some time after, engaging in another war against Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, he was vanquished in turn, and died in battle, after a reign of four years.

Numitor, the fifteenth king in a direct line from Æneas, who took possession of the kingdom in consequence of his father's will, had a brother named Amulius, to whom

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he left the treasures which had been brought from Troy. As riches but too generally prevail against right, Amulius made use of his wealth to supplant his brother, and soon found means to possess himself of the kingdom. Not content with the crime of usurpation, he added that of murder also. Numitor's sons first fell a sacrifice to his suspicions; and to remove all apprehensions of being one day disturbed in his ill got power, he caused Rhea Silvia, his brother's only daughter, to become a vestal virgin; which office obliging her to perpetual celibacy, made him less uneasy as to the claims of posterity.

His precautions, however, were all frustrated in the event: for Rhea Silvia, going to fetch water from a neighbouring grove, was met and ravished by a man, whom, perhaps to palliate her offence, she averred to be Mars, the god of war. From this congress she was brought to bed of two boys, who were no sooner born than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had violated their chastity, and the twins were ordered to be flung into the river Tyber. It happened at the time this rigorous sentence was put into execution, that the river had more than usually overflowed its banks, so that the place where the children were thrown being at a distance from the main current, the water was too shallow to drown them. In this situation, therefore, they continued without harm; and, that no part of their preservation might want its wonders, we are told that they were for some time suckled by a wolf, until Faustulus, the king's herdsman, finding them thus exposed, brought them home to Aca Laurentia his wife, who brought them up as his own.

Romulus and Remus, the twins, thus strangely preserved, seemed early to discover abilities and desires above the meanness of their supposed original. The shepherd's life began to displease them; and, from tending flocks, or hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their strength against the robbers round the country, whom they often stript of their plunder to share it among their fellow shepherds. In one of these excursions Remus was taken prisoner by Numitor's herdsman, who brought him before

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the king, and accuſed him of being a plunderer. Romulus, however, being informed by Fauſtulus of his real birth, was not remiſs in aſſembling a number of his fellow ſhepherds, who beſet the uſurper on all ſides, who, during his amazement and diſtraction, was taken and ſlain; while Numitor, who had been depoſed forty-two years, recogniſed his grandſons, and was once more reſtored to the throne.

Numitor being thus in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, his grandſons reſolved to build a city upon thoſe hills where they had formerly lived as ſhepherds. Many of the neighbouring ſhepherds alſo, and ſuch as were fond of change, repaired to the intended city, and prepared to raiſe it. In order to proceed in this undertaking with all poſſible ſolemnity, the two brothers were adviſed by the king to take an omen from the flight of birds, and that he whoſe omen ſhould be moſt favourable ſhould in all reſpects direct the other. In compliance with this advice they both took their ſtations upon different hills. To Remus appeared ſix vultures; to Romulus twice that number: ſo that each party thought itſelf victorious; the one having the firſt omen, the other the moſt complete. This produced a conteſt, which ended in a battle, wherein Remus was ſlain; and it is even ſaid that he was killed by his brother, who being provoked at his leaping contemptuouſly over the city wall, ſtruck him dead upon the ſpot.

Romulus, being now ſole commander, and eighteen years of age, began the foundation of a city, that was one day to give laws to the world. It was called Rome, after the name of the founder, and built upon the Palatine hill, on which he had taken his ſucceſsful omen [A. M. 3252. ante C. 752.] The city was at firſt almoſt ſquare, containing about a thouſand houſes. It was near a mile in compaſs, and commanded a ſmall territory round it of about eight miles over. However ſmall as it appears, it was notwithſtanding worſe inhabited; and the firſt method made uſe of to increaſe its numbers, was the opening a ſanctuary for all malefactors, ſlaves, and ſuch as were deſirous of novelty; and theſe came in great multitudes, and contributed to increaſe the number of our legiſlator's new ſubjects.

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CHAP. II.

From the building of Rome to the death of Romulus.

SCARCE was the city raiſed above its foundation, when its rude inhabitants began to think of giving ſome form to their conſtitution. Romulus, by an act of great generoſity, left them at liberty to chuſe whom they would for their king; and they in gratitude concurred to elect their founder; he was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, ſovereign magiſtrate of Rome, and general of the army. Beſide a guard to attend his perſon, it was agreed, that he ſhould be preceded wherever he went by twelve men, armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods, who were to ſerve as executioners of the law, and to impreſs his new ſubjects with an idea of his authority.

The ſenate, which was to act as counſellors to the king, was compoſed of an hundred of the principal citizens of Rome, conſiſting of men whoſe age, wiſdom, or valour, gave them a natural authority over their fellow ſubjects; and the king named the firſt ſenator, and appointed him to the government of the city, whenever war required his own abſence.

The Plebeians, who compoſed the third part of the legiſlature, aſſumed to themſelves the power of authorizing thoſe laws which were paſſed by the king or the ſenate. All things relative to peace or war, to the election of magiſtrates, and even to the chuſing a king, were confirmed by ſuffrages in their aſſemblies.

The firſt care of the new created king was to attend to the intereſts of religion: but the preciſe form of their worſhip is unknown. The greateſt part of the religion of that age conſiſted in a firm reliance upon the credit of their ſoothſayers, who pretended, from obſervations on the flight of birds and the entrails of beaſts, to direct the preſent, and to dive into futurity. Romulus, by an expreſs law, commanded that no election ſhould be made, no enterprize undertaken, without firſt conſulting them.

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Wives were forbid, upon any pretext whatsoever, to separate from their husbands; while, on the contrary, the husband was empowered to repudiate his wife, and even in some cases to put her to death. His laws between children and their parents were yet still more severe; the father had entire power over his offspring, both of fortune and life; he could sell them or imprison them at any time of their lives, or in any stations to which they were arrived.

After his endeavours by laws to regulate his subjects, he next gave orders to ascertain their numbers. The whole amounted but to three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These therefore were divided equally into three tribes, and to each he assigned a different part of the city. Each of these tribes were subdivided into ten curiæ, or companies, consisting of an hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a priest, called curio, to perform the sacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called duumviri, to distribute justice.

By these wise regulations, each day added strength to the new city; multitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns, and it only seemed to want women to ascertain its duration. In this exigence, Romulus by the advice of the senate, sent deputies among the Sabines, his neighbours, entreating their alliance, and upon these terms offering to cement the most strict confederacy with them. The Sabines, who were then considered as the most warlike people of Italy, rejected the proposal with disdain; Romulus therefore proclaimed a feast in honour of Neptune throughout all the neighbouring villages, and made the most magnificent preparations for it. These feasts were generally preceded by sacrifices, and ended in shews of wrestlers, gladiators, and chariot-courses. The Sabines, as he had expected, were among the foremost who came to be spectators, bringing their wives and daughters with them to share the pleasure of the sight. In the mean time the games began, and, while the strangers were most intent upon the spectacle, a number of the Roman youth rushed in among them with drawn swords, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and carried them off by violence. In vain the parents protested against this

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breach of hospitality; in vain the virgins themselves at first opposed the attempts of their ravishers; perseverance and caresses obtained those favours which timidity at first denied; so that the betrayers, from being objects of aversion, soon became the partners of their dearest affections.

A bloody war ensued. The cities of Cenina, Antemna, and Crustumium, were the first who resolved to revenge the common cause, which the Sabines seemed too dilatory in pursuing. But all these, by making separate inroads, became a more easy conquest to Romulus, who made the most merciful use of his victory; instead of destroying their towns, or lessening their numbers, he only placed colonies of Romans in them, to serve as a frontier to repress more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and, not content with a superiority of forces, he added stratagem also. Tarpeia, who was daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by means of large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for was what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or willing to punish her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Sabines being thus possessed of the Capitoline, after some time a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days with almost equal success, and neither could think of submitting: It was in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, that the last engagement was fought between the Romans and Sabines. The engagement was now become general, and the slaughter prodigious, when the attention of both sides was suddenly turned from the scene of horror before them, to another; till at length the Sabine women, who had been carried off by the Romans, with their hair loose, and their ornaments

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neglected, flew in between the combatants, regardless of their own danger, and with loud outcries implored their husbands and their children to desist. Upon this, the combatants, as if by mutual impulse, let fall their weapons; an accommodation ensued, by which it was agreed that Romulus and Tatius should reign jointly in Rome, with equal power and prerogative, that an hundred Sabines should be admitted into the Senate, that the city should still retain its former name, but that the citizens should be called Quirites, after Cures, the principal town of the Sabines, and that both nations being thus united, such of the Sabines as chose it, should be admitted to live in and enjoy all the privileges of citizens in Rome. Tatius was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, for having protected some servants of his, who had plundered them and slain their ambassadors; so that by this accident Romulus once more saw himself sole monarch of Rome.

Successes like these produced an equal share of pride in the conqueror. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely assigned to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and to govern those laws to which he had himself formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate was particularly displeased at his conduct, as they found themselves only used as instruments to ratify the rigor of his commands. We are not told the precise manner which they employed to get rid of the tyrant; some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house; others, that he disappeared while reviewing his army. Certain it is, that from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude that he was taken up into heaven: thus him whom they could not bear as a king, they were contented to worship as a god. Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, and after his death had a temple built to him under the name of Quirinus.

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CHAP. III.

From the death of Romulus, to the death of Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome.

[U. C. 38.]

UPON the death of Romulus, the city seemed greatly divided in the choice of a successor. The Sabines were for having a king chosen from their body, but the Romans could not bear the thoughts of advancing a stranger to the throne. In this perplexity the senators undertook to supply the place of the king, by taking the government, each of them in turn, for five days, and during that time enjoying all the honors and all the privileges of royalty. This new form of government continued for a year, but the Plebeians, who saw that this method of transferring power was only multiplying their masters, insisted upon altering that mode of government. The senate being thus driven to an election, at length pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine; and their choice was received with universal approbation by the people.

Numa Pompilius, who was now about forty, had long been eminent for his piety, his justice, moderation, and exemplary life. He was skilled in all the learning and philosophy of the Sabines, and lived at home at Cures, contented with a private fortune, unambitious of higher honours. It was not therefore, without reluctance that he accepted the dignity, which, when he did, it produced such joy, that the people seemed not so much to receive a king as a kingdom.

No monarch could be more proper for them than Numa, at a conjuncture when the government was composed of various petty states lately subdued, and but ill united among each other: they wanted a master who could by his laws and precepts soften their fierce dispositions, and by his example induce them to a love of religion, and every milder virtue.

Numa's whole time therefore was spent in inspiring his subjects with a love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. He built many new temples, instituted sacred of-

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fices a[illegible]s, and the ſanctity of his life gave him credit e[illegible] perſuade his people that he had a particular c[illegible]ondence with the goddeſs Egéria. By her advice he built the temple of Janus, which was to be ſhut in time of peace, and open in war; he ordained veſtal virgins, who, being four in number, had very great privileges allowed them.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he divided thoſe lands which Romulus had gained in war among the poorer part of the people; he regulated the calender, and aboliſhed the diſtinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their ſeveral trades, and compelling them to live together. Thus, having arrived at the age of four ſcore years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a ſtone coffin, contrary to the cuſtom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which conſiſted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried by his ſide in another.

CHAP. IV.

From the death of Numa, to the death of Tullus Hoſtilius, the third king of Rome.

[U. C. 82.]

UPON the death of Numa, the government once more devolved upon the ſenate, and continued till the people elected Tullus Hoſtilius for their king, which choice had alſo the concurrence of the other part of the conſtitution. This monarch, who was grandſon to a noble Roman who had formerly ſignalized himſelf againſt the Sabines, was every way unlike his predeceſſor, being entirely devoted to war, and more fond of enterpriſe, than even the founder of the empire himſelf had been; ſo that he only ſought a pretext for leading his forces into the field.

The Albans were the firſt people who gave him an opportunity of indulging his favourite inclinations. The forces of theſe two ſtates met about five miles from

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Rome, prepared to decide the fate of th[illegible]pective kingdoms; for almoſt every battle in th[illegible]es was deciſive. The two armies were for ſome [illegible] drawn out in array, awaiting the ſignal to begin, both chiding the length of that dreadful ſuſpenſe, when an unexpected propoſal from the Alban general put a ſtop to the onſet. Stepping in between both armies, he offered the Romans a choice of deciding the diſpute by ſingle combat; adding, that the ſide whoſe champion was overcome ſhould ſubmit to the conqueror. A propoſal like this, ſuited the impetuous temper of the Roman king, and was embraced with joy by his ſubjects, each of which hoped that he himſelf ſhould be choſen to fight the cauſe of his country. There were at this time three twin brothers in each army; thoſe of the Romans were called Horatii, and thoſe of the Albans Curiatii, all ſix remarkable for their courage, ſtrength, and activity, and to theſe it was reſolved to commit the management of the combat. At length the champions met in combat together: and each, totally regardleſs of his own ſafety, only ſought the deſtruction of his opponent. The ſpectators, in horrid ſilence, trembled at every blow, and wiſhed to ſhare the danger, till fortune ſeemed to decide the glory of the field. Victory, that had hitherto been doubtful, appeared to declare againſt the Romans; they beheld two of their champions lying dead upon the plain, and the three Curiatii, who were wounded, ſlowly endeavouring to purſue the ſurvivor, who ſeemed by flight to beg for mercy. Soon however, they perceived that his flight was only pretended, in order to ſeparate his antagoniſts, whom he was unable to oppoſe united; for, quickly after, ſtopping his courſe, and turning upon him who followed moſt cloſely behind, he laid him dead at his feet: the ſecond brother, who came on to aſſiſt him who was fallen, only ſhared the ſame fate; and now there remained but the laſt Curiatius to conquer, who, fatigued and quite diſabled with his wounds, ſlowly came up to offer an eaſy victory. He was killed, almoſt unreſiſting, while the conqueror exclaiming, of-

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fered him as a victim to the superiority of the Romans, whom now the Alban army consented to obey.

But none of the virtues of that age were without alloy; the very hand that in the morning was exerted to save his country, was before night imbrued in the blood of his sister. For, returning triumphant from the field, it raised his indignation to behold her bathed in tears, and lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to whom she was betrothed. This provoked him beyond the power of sufferance, so that he slew her in a rage. This action greatly displeased the senate, and drew on the condemnation of the magistrates, but he was pardoned by making his appeal to the people.

Hostilius died, after a reign of thirty two years; some say by lightning, others, with more probability, by treason.

CHAP. V.

From the death of Tullus Hostilius, to the death of Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome.

[U. C. 115.]

AFTER an interregnum, as in the former case, Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa, was elected king by the people, and the choice afterwards was confirmed by the senate. As this monarch was a lineal descendent from Numa, so he seemed to make him the great object of his imitation. He instituted the sacred ceremonies which were to precede a declaration of war; he took every occasion to advise his subjects to return to the arts of agriculture, and to lay aside the less useful stratagems of war.

These institutions and precepts were considered by the neighbouring powers rather as marks of cowardice than of wisdom. The Latins therefore began to make incursions upon his territories, but their success was equal to their justice. Ancus conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to

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Rome, and increaſed his territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled alſo an inſurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volſci; and over the Sabines he obtained a ſecond triumph.

But his victories over the enemy were by no means comparable to his works at home, in raiſing temples, fortifying the city, making a priſon for malefactors, and building a ſea-port at the mouth of the Tyber, called Oſtia, by which he ſecured to his ſubjects the trade of that river and that of the ſalt pits adjacent. Thus, having enriched his ſubjects, and beautified the city, he died after a reign of twenty four years.

CHAP. VI.

From the death of Ancus Martius, to the death of Tarquinius Priſcus, the fifth king of Rome.

[U. C. 138.]

LUCIUS Tarquinius Priſcus, whoſe original name was Lucumon, and who was appointed guardian to the ſons of the late king, took the ſurname of Tarquinius from the city of Tarquinio, from whence he laſt came. His father was a merchant of Corinth, who had acquired conſiderable wealth by trade, and had ſettled in Italy upon account of ſome troubles at home. His ſon Lucumon, who inherited his fortune, married a woman of family in the city of Tarquinio; and as his birth, profeſſion, and country, were contemptible to the nobles of the place, by his wife's perſuaſion he came to ſettle at Rome, where merit only made diſtinction. On his way thither, ſay the hiſtorians, as he approached the city gate, an eagle, ſtooping from above, took off his hat, and flying round his chariot for ſome time with much noiſe put it on again. This, his wife Tanaquil, who it ſeems was ſkilled in augury, interpreted as a preſage that he ſhould one day wear the crown; and perhaps it was this which firſt fired his ambition to purſue it.

Ancus being dead, and the kingdom, as uſual de-

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relying upon the senate, Tarquin used all his power and arts to set aside the children of the late king, and to get himself elected in their stead. For this purpose, upon the day appointed for election, he contrived to have them sent out of the city: and in a set speech to the people, in which he urged his friendship for them, the fortune he had spent among them, and his knowledge of their government, he offered himself for their king. As there was nothing in this harangue that could be contested, it had the desired effect, and the people, with one consent, elected him as their sovereign.

A kingdom, thus got by intrigue, was, notwithstanding, governed with equity. In the beginning of his reign, in order to recompence his friends, he added an hundred members more to the senate, which made them in all three hundred.

But his peaceful endeavours were soon interrupted by the inroads of his restless neighbours, particularly the Latins, over whom he triumphed, and whom he forced to beg a peace. He then turned his arms against the Sabines, who had risen once more, and had passed over the river Tyber; but Tarquin, attacking them with vigour, routed their army; so that many who escaped the sword, were drowned in attempting to cross over, while their bodies and armour, floating down to Rome, brought news of the victory even before the messengers could arrive that were sent with the tidings. These conquests were followed by several advantages over the Latins, from whom he took many towns, though without gaining any decisive victory.

Tarquin having thus forced his enemies into submission, was resolved not to let his subjects corrupt in indolence, but undertook and perfected several public works for the convenience and embellishment of the city.

In his time also, the augurs came into a great increase of reputation, and he found it his interest to promote the superstition of the people, as this was in fact but to increase their obedience. Tanaquil, his wife, was a great pretender to this art; but Accius

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Nævius was the moſt celebrated adept of the kind that was ever known in Rome. Upon a certain occaſion, Tarquin being reſolved to try the augur's ſkill, aſked him, whether what he was then pondering in his mind could be effected? Nævius having examined his auguries, boldly affirmed that it might: "Why then," cries the king, with an inſulting ſmile, "I had thoughts of cutting this whetſtone with a razor." "Cut boldly," replied the augur; and the king cut it through accordingly. Thenceforward nothing was undertaken in Rome without conſulting the augurs, and obtaining their advice and approbation.

Tarquin was not content with a kingdom without alſo the enſigns of royalty. In imitation of the Lydian kings he aſſumed a crown of gold, an ivory throne, a ſceptre, with an eagle on the top, and robes of purple. It was, perhaps, the ſplendor of theſe royalties that firſt raiſed the envy of the late king's ſons, who had now for above thirty-ſeven years quietly ſubmitted to his government. His deſign alſo of adopting Servius Tullius, his ſon-in-law for his ſucceſſor, might have contributed to inflame their reſentment. Whatever was the cauſe of their tardy vengeance, they reſolved to deſtroy him; and at laſt found means to effect their purpoſe, by hiring two ruffians, who, demanding to ſpeak with the king, pretending that they came for juſtice, ſtruck him dead in his palace with the blow of an axe. The lictors, however, who waited upon the perſon of the king, ſeized the murderers, who were attempting to eſcape; they were put to death; but the ſons of Ancus, who were the inſtigators, found ſafety by flight.

Thus fell Lucius Tarquinius, ſurnamed Priſcus, to diſtinguiſh him from one of his ſucceſſors of the ſame name, aged fifty-ſix years, of which he had reigned thirty-eight.

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CHAP. VII.

From the death of Tarquinius Priscus, to the death of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome.

[U. C. 179.]

THE report of the murder of Tarquin, filled all his subjects with complaint and indignation, while the citizens ran from every quarter of the palace to learn the truth of the account, or to take vengeance on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaquil, widow of the late king, considering the danger she must incur in case the conspirators should succeed to the crown, and desirous of having her son-in-law for his successor, with great art dissembled her sorrows as well as the king's death. She assured the people from one of the windows of the palace, that he was not killed but stunned by the blow; that he would shortly recover; and that, in the mean time, he had deputed his power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law. Servius accordingly, as it had been agreed upon between them, issued from the palace, adorned with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded by his lictors, and went to dispatch some affairs that related to the public safety, still pretending that he took all his instructions from the king. This scene of dissimulation continued for some days, till he had made his party good among the nobles; when the death of Tarquin being publicly ascertained, Servius came to the crown, solely at the senate's appointment, and without attempting to gain the suffrages of the people.

Servius was the son of a bondwoman, who had been taken at the sacking of a town belonging to the Latins, and was born whilst his mother was a slave.—While yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent flame is said to have played round his head, which Tanaquil converted into an omen of his future greatness.

Upon being acknowledged as king, the chief object of his reign was to increase the power of the senate, by depressing that of the people. The populace, who were unable to see into his designs, conferred upon him

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a full power of ſettling the taxes as he ſhould think proper. And accordingly, as he inſiſted that they ſhould pay their taxes by centuries, he commanded that they ſhould give their votes in all public tranſactions by centuries alſo. In former deliberations each citizen gave his ſuffrage ſingly, and the numbers of the poor always carried it againſt the power of the rich; but by the regulations of Servius, the ſenate was made to conſiſt of a greater number of centuries than all the other claſſes put together, and thus entirely outweighed them in every contention.

In order to aſcertain the decreaſe or decay of his ſubjects and their fortunes, he inſtituted another regulation, which he called a luſtrum. By this all the citizens were to aſſemble in the Campus Martius, in complete armour, and in their reſpective claſſes, once in five years, and there to give an exact account of their families and fortune.

Having thus enjoyed a long reign, ſpent in ſettling the domeſtic policy of the ſtate, and alſo not inattentive to foreign concerns, he conceived reaſonable hopes of concluding it with tranquility and eaſe. He had even thoughts of laying down his power, and, having formed the kingdom into a republic, to retire into obſcurity; but ſo generous a deſign was fruſtrated ere it could be put into execution.

In the beginning of his reign, to ſecure his throne by every precaution, he had married his two daughters to the two grandſons of Tarquin; and as he knew that the women were of oppoſite diſpoſitions as well as their intended huſbands, he reſolved to croſs their tempers by giving them to him of a contrary turn of temper: her that was meek and gentle, to him that was bold and furious; her that was ungovernable and proud, to him that was remarkable for a contrary character: by this he ſuppoſed that each would correct the failing of the other, and that the mixture would be productive of concord. The event however proved otherwiſe. Lucius, his haughty ſon-in-law, ſoon grew diſpleaſed with the meekneſs of his conſort, and placed his whole affections upon Tullia, his brother's wife, who anſwered

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his paſſion with ſympathetic ardour. As their wiſhes were ungovernable, they ſoon reſolved to break through every reſtraint that offered to prevent their union; both undertook to murder their conſorts, which they effected, and were accordingly ſoon after married together. A firſt crime ever produces a ſecond: from the deſtruction of their conſorts, they proceeded to conſpiring that of the king. They began by raiſing factions againſt him, alledging his illegal title to the crown, and Lucius by claiming it as his own, as heir to Tarquin. At length, when he found the ſenate ripe for ſeconding his views, he entered the ſenate-houſe adorned with all the enſigns of royalty, and, placing himſelf upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obſcurity of the king's birth, and the injuſtice of his title. While he was yet ſpeaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and ſeeing his throne thus rudely invaded, offered to puſh the uſurper from his ſeat; but Tarquin being in the vigour of youth, threw the old man down the ſteps which led to the throne; and ſome of his adherents, being inſtructed for that purpoſe, followed the king as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and diſpatched him by the way, throwing his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public ſpectacle into the ſtreet. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, was informed of what her huſband had done, and reſolving to be among the firſt who ſhould ſalute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to the ſenate houſe: but as her charioteer approached the place where the old king her father's body lay expoſed and bloody, the man, all amazed at the inhuman ſpectacle, and not willing to trample upon it with his horſes, offered to turn another way: this only ſerved to increaſe the fierceneſs of her anger; ſhe threw the footſtool at his head, and ordered him to drive over the dead body without heſitation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent juſtice and moderation, after an uſeful and proſperous reign of forty-four years.

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CHAP. VIII.

From the death of Servius Tullius, to the banishment of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last king of Rome.

[U. C. 220.]

LUCIUS Tarquinius, afterwards called Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne, in consequence of this violent attempt, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence with which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused the late king's body burial, under pretence of his being an usurper. All the good part of mankind, however, looked upon this accession with detestation and horror; and this act of inefficient cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Servius to be put to death; and fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he increased the guard round his person.

His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown. He first marched against the Sabines, who refused to pay him obedience, and soon reduced them to submission. He next began a war with the Volsci, which continued for some ages after. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for having attempted with some loss to besiege it, he was obliged to direct his efforts by stratagem, contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. He caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, he so prevailed on the pity of the people, as to be chosen their governor, and soon after general of their army. At first, in every engagement he appeared successful, till

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at length, finding himself entirely possessed of the confidence of the state, he sent a trusty messenger to his father for instructions. Tarquin made no other answer than by taking the messenger into the garden, where he cut down before him the tallest poppies. Sextus readily understood the meaning of this reply, and, one by one, found means to destroy or remove the principal men of the city, still taking care to confiscate their effects among the people. The charms of this dividend kept the giddy populace blind to their approaching ruin, till they found themselves at last without counsellors or head, and in the end fell under the power of Tarquin, without even striking a blow. After this he made a league with the Æqui, and renewed that with the Etrurians.

But while he was engaged in wars abroad, he took care not to suffer the people to continue in idleness at home. He undertook to build the capitol, the foundation of which had been laid in a former reign, and an extraordinary event contributed to hasten the execution of his design. A woman, in strange attire, made her appearance at Rome, and came to the king, offering to sell nine books, which she said were of her own composing. Not knowing the abilities of the seller, or that she was in fact one of the celebrated Sybils, whose prophecies were never found to fail, Tarquin refused to buy them. Upon this she departed and burning three of her books, returned again, demanding the same price for the six remaining. Being once more despised as an impostor, she again departed, and burning three more, she returned with those remaining, still asking the same price as at first. Tarquin, surprised at the inconsistency of her behaviour, consulted the augurs, to advise him what to do. These much blamed him for not buying the nine, and commanded him to buy the three remaining at whatsoever price they were to be had. The woman, says the historian, after thus selling and delivering the three prophetic volumes, and advising him to have a special attention to what they contained, vanished from before him, and was never seen after. Upon this he chose proper persons to keep

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them, who, though but two at firſt, were afterwards increaſed to fifteen under the name of quindecemviri. They were put into a ſtone cheſt, and a vault in the newly-deſigned building was thought the propereſt place to lodge them in ſafety. The people having been for four years together employed in building the capital, began at laſt to wiſh for ſomething new to engage them; wherefore Tarquin, to ſatisfy their wiſhes proclaimed war againſt the Rutuli, upon a frivolous pretence of their having entertained ſome malefactors whom he had baniſhed, and inveſted their chief city, Ardea, which lay about ſixteen miles from Rome. While the army was encamped before this place, the king's ſon, Sextus, with Collatinus, a noble Roman, and ſome others, ſat in a tent drinking together: the diſcourſe happening to turn upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, each man praiſing his own, Collatinus offered to decide the diſpute, by putting it to an immediate trial, whoſe wife ſhould be found of the greateſt beauty, and moſt ſedulouſly employed at that very hour. Being heated with wine, the propoſal was reliſhed by the whole company: and taking horſe without delay, they poſted to Rome, though the night was already pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like other women of her age, ſpending the time in eaſe and luxury, but ſpinning in the midſt of her maids, and chearfully portioning out their taſks. Her modeſt beauty, and the eaſy reception ſhe gave her huſband and his friends ſo charmed them all, that they unanimouſly gave her the preference; and Sextus was ſo much inflamed, that nothing but enjoyment could ſatisfy his paſſion.

For that purpoſe he went from the camp to viſit her privately a few days after, and received the ſame kind reception which he had met with before. As his intentions were not ſuſpected, Lucretia ſat with him at ſupper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him in the houſe. Midnight was the time in which this ruffian thought it ſafeſt to put his deſigns into execution. Having found means to convey himſelf into her chamber, he approached her bedſide with a drawn ſword,

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and rudely laying his hand upon her bosom, threatened her with instant death if she offered to resist his passion. Lucretia affrightened out of her sleep, and seeing death so near, was yet inexorable to his desire, till being told, that, if she would not yield, he would first kill her, and then laying his own slave also dead by her side, he would report that he had found and killed them both in the act of adultery. The terror of infamy atchieved what that of death could not obtain; she consented to his desire, and the next morning he returned to the camp exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time, Lucretia detesting the light, and resolving not to pardon herself for the crime of another, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius her father, to come to her, as an indelible disgrace had befallen her family. These instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messenger by the way. Their arrival only served to increase Lucretia's poignant anguish; they found her in a state of stedfast desperation, and vainly attempted to give her relief. "No (said she) never shall I find "any thing worth living for in this life after having "lost my honor. You see, my Collatinus, a polluted "wretch before you; one whose person has been the "spoil of another, but whose affections were never "estranged from you. Sextus, under the pretended "veil of friendship, has this night forced from me that "treasure which death only can restore; but if you "have the hearts of men, avenge my cause, and let "posterity know, that she who has lost her virtue, hath "only death for her best consolation." So saying, she drew a poignard from beneath her robe, and instantly plunging it into her bosom, expired without a groan. The whole company remained for some time fixed in sorrow, pity, and indignation; Spurius and Collatinus at length gave a vent to their grief in tears; but Brutus drawing the poignard reeking from Lucretia's wound, and lifting it up towards heaven, "Be witness, ye Gods," he cried, "That from this moment I pro-

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"claim myself the avenger of the chaste Lucretia's "cause: from this moment I profess myself the ene-"my of Tarquin, and his lustful house: from hence-"forth this life, while life continues, shall be employ-"ed in opposition to tyranny, and for the happiness "and freedom of my much loved country." A new amazement seized the hearers, to find him, whom they had hitherto considered as an idiot, now appearing in his real character, the friend of justice and of Rome. He told them, that tears and lamentations were unmanly when vengeance called so loud; and delivering the poignard to the rest, imposed the same oath upon them, which he himself had just taken.

Junius Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, who was married to the daughter of Tarquinius Priscus; and for that reason, through a motive of jealousy, was put to death by Tarquin the Proud. This Junius Brutus had received an excellent education from his father, and had, from nature, strong sense, and an inflexible attachment to virtue; but perceiving that Tarquin had privately murdered his father and his eldest brother, he counterfeited himself a fool, in order to escape the same danger, and thence obtained the surname of Brutus. Tarquin thinking his folly real, despised the man; and having possessed himself of his estate, kept him as an idiot in his house, merely with a view of making sport for his children.

Brutus, however, only waited this opportunity to avenge the cause of his family. Wherefore, ordering Lucretia's dead body to be brought out to view, and exposed in the public forum, he inflamed the ardour of the citizens by a display of the horrid transaction. He obtained a decree of the senate, that Tarquin and his family should be forever banished from Rome, and that it should be capital for any to plead for, or to attempt his future return. Thus this monarch, who had now reigned twenty-five years, being expelled his kingdom, went to take refuge with his family at Cira, a little city of Etruria. In the mean time the Roman army made a truce with the enemy, and Brutus was proclaimed deliverer of the people.

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CHAP. IX.

From the banishment of Tarquin, to the appointment of the first Dictator.

[U. C. 245.]

THE regal power being overthrown, a form of government nominally republican, was substituted in its room. The senate, however, reserved by far the greatest share of the authority to themselves, and decorated their own body with all the spoils of deposed monarchy. The centuries of the people chose from among the senators, instead of a king, two annual magistrates, whom they called consuls, with power equal to that of the regal, and with the same privileges, and the same ensigns of authority.

Brutus, the deliverer of his country, and Collatinus the husband of Lucretia, were chosen first consuls in Rome.

But this new republic, however, which seemed so grateful to the people, had like to have been destroyed in its very commencement. A party was formed in Rome in favour of Tarquin. Some young men of the principal families in the state, who had been educated about the king, and had shared in all the luxuries of the court, undertook to re-establish monarchy. This party secretly increased every day; and, what may create our surprize, the sons of Brutus himself, and the Aquilii, the nephews of Collatinus, were among the number. Tarquin, who was informed of these intrigues in his favour, sent ambassadors from Etruria to Rome, under a pretence of reclaiming the crown, but in reality with a design to give spirit to his faction. But the whole conspiracy was discovered by a slave who had accidentally hid himself in the room where the conspirators used to assemble. Few situations could have been more terribly affecting than that of Brutus, a father, placed as a judge upon the life and death of his own children, impelled by justice to condemn, and by

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nature to ſpare them. The young men accuſed pleaded nothing for themſelves, but, with conſcious guilt, awaited their ſentence in ſilence and agony. The other judges who were preſent, felt all the pangs of nature; Collatinus wept, and Valerius could not repreſs his ſentiments of pity. Brutus, alone, ſeemed to have loſt all the ſoftneſs of humanity, and with a ſtern countenance, and a tone of voice that marked his gloomy reſolution, demanded of his ſons, if they could make any defence to the crimes with which they had been charged. This demand he made three ſeveral times; but, receiving no anſwer, he at length turned himſelf to the executioner. "Now," cried he, "it is your part to perform the reſt." Thus ſaying, he again reſumed his ſeat with an air of determined majeſty; nor could all the ſentiments of paternal pity, nor all the imploring looks of the people, nor yet the complaints of the young men who were preparing for execution, alter the tenor of his reſolution. The executioners having ſtripped them naked, and then whipped them with rods, preſently after beheaded them: Brutus all the time beholding the cruel ſpectacle with a ſteady look and unaltered countenance, while the multitude gazed on with all the ſenſations of pity, terror, and admiration.

All Tarquin's hopes of an inſurrection in the city in his favour being thus overthrown, he was now reſolved to force himſelf upon his former throne by foreign aſſiſtance, and to that end prevailed upon the Veians to aſſiſt him, and with a conſiderable army advanced towards Rome.

U. C. 246. The conſuls were not remiſs in preparations to oppoſe him. Valerius commanded the foot, and Brutus being appointed to head the cavalry, went out to meet him on the Roman borders.—Aruns, the ſon of Tarquin, who commanded the cavalry for his father, ſeeing Brutus at a diſtance, was reſolved, by one great attempt, to decide the fate of the day, before the engaging of the armies: wherefore, ſpurring on his horſe, he made towards him with ungovernable fury. Brutus, who perceived his approach,

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singled out from the ranks to meet him, and both met with such rage, that, eager only to assail, and thoughtless of defending, they both fell dead upon the field together. A bloody battle ensued, with equal slaughter on both sides; but the Romans, remaining in possession of the field of battle, claimed the victory; in consequence, Valerius returned in triumph to Rome.

In the mean time, Tarquin, no way intimidated by his misfortunes, prevailed upon Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, to espouse his cause, and in person undertake his quarrel. This prince, equally noted for courage and conduct, marched directly to Rome, with a numerous army, and laid siege to the city, while the terror of his name and his arms filled all ranks of people with dismay. The siege was carried on with vigour; a furious attack was made upon the place; the two consuls opposed in vain, and were carried off wounded from the field; while the Romans, flying in great consternation, were pursued by the enemy to the bridge, over which, both victors and vanquished were about to enter the city in the confusion. All now appeared lost and over, when Horatius Coeles, who had been placed there as a centinel to defend it, opposed himself to the torrent of the enemy, and assisted only by two more, for some time sustained the whole fury of the assault, till the bridge was broken down behind him: when he found the communication thus cut off, plunging with his arms into the torrent of the Tyber, he swam back victorious to his fellow-soldiers, and was received with just applause.

Still, however, Porsenna was determined upon taking the city; and though five hundred of his men were slain in a sally of the Romans, he reduced it to the greatest straits; and turning the siege into a blockade, resolved to take it by famine. The distress of the besieged soon began to be insufferable, and all things seemed to threaten a speedy surrender, when another act of fierce bravery, still superior to that which had saved the city before, again procured its safety and freedom.

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Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, was resolved to rid his country of an enemy that so sorely continued to oppress it; and for this purpose, disguised in the habit of an Etrurian peasant, entered the camp of the enemy, resolving to die or to kill the king. With this resolution he made up to the place where Porsenna was paying his troops, with a secretary by his side; but, mistaking the latter for the king, he stabbed him to the heart, and was immediately apprehended and brought back into the royal presence. Upon Porsenna's demanding who he was, and the cause of so heinous an action, Mutius, without reserve, informed him of his country and his design, and at the same time thrusting his right hand into a fire that was burning upon the altar before him, "You see," cried he, "how little I regard the severest punishment your cruelty can inflict upon me. A Roman knows not only "how to act, but to suffer: I am not the only person "you have to fear: three hundred Roman youth, like "me, have conspired your destruction; therefore pre-"pare for their attempts." Porsenna, amazed at so much intrepidity, had too noble a mind not to acknowledge merit though found in an enemy; he therefore ordered him to be safely conducted back to Rome, and offered the besieged conditions of peace. These were readily accepted on their side, being neither hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty hostages were demanded; ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. But even in this instance also, as if the gentler sex were resolved to be sharers in the desperate valour of the times, Clelia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tyber on horseback, amidst showers of darts from the enemy, and presented herself to the consul. This magistrate, fearing the consequences of detaining her had her sent back: upon which Porsenna, not to be outdone in generosity, not only gave her liberty, but permitted her to chuse such of the hostages of the opposite sex as she should think fit to attend her. On her part, she, with all the modesty of a Roman virgin,

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choſe only ſuch as were under fortune, alledging, that their tender age was leaſt capable of ſuſtaining the rigours of ſlavery.

Tarquin, by means of his ſon-in-law Manilius, once more ſtirred up the Latins to eſpouſe his intereſt, and took the moſt convenient opportunity, when the Plebeians were at variance with the ſenators, concerning the payment of their debts. Theſe refuſed to go to war unleſs their debts were remitted upon their return; ſo that the conſuls, finding their authority inſufficient, offered the people to elect a temporary magiſtrate, who ſhould have abſolute power, not only over all ranks of ſtate, but even over the laws themſelves. To this the Plebeians readily conſented, willing to give up their own power for the ſake of abridging that of their ſuperiors. In conſequence of this, Largius was created the firſt dictator of Rome; for ſo was his high office called, being nominated to it by his colleague in the conſulſhip. Thus the people, who could not bear to hear the name of king even mentioned, readily ſubmitted to a magiſtrate poſſeſſed of much greater power: ſo much do the names of things miſlead us, and ſo little is any form of government irkſome to people when it coincides with their prejudices.

CHAP. X.

From the creation of the firſt Dictator, to the election of the Tribunes of the People.

[U. C. 255.]

LARGIUS being now created dictator, entered upon his office, ſurrounded with his lictors, and all the enſigns of ancient royalty, and ſeated upon a throne in the midſt of the people, ordered the levies to be made in the manner of the kings of Rome. The populace looked with terror upon a magiſtrate whom they had inveſted with uncontrollable power, and peaceably went each to range himſelf under his reſpective ſtandard. Thus going forth to oppoſe the enemy, he re-

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turned with his army, and before his six months were expired, laid down the dictatorship, with the reputation of having exercised it with blameless lenity.

But, though for this time the people submitted to be led forth, yet they were resolved at last to free themselves from the yoke of their severe masters; and, though they could not get their complaints redressed, yet they determined to fly from those whom they could not move to compassion. The complaints therefore continuing, they resolved to quit a city which gave them no shelter, and to form a new establishment without its limits. They therefore, under the conduct of a Plebeian, named Sicinius Bellotus, retired to a mountain, from thence called Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Anio, within about three miles from Rome.

Upon the news of this defection, the city was filled with tumult and consternation; those who wished well to the army made all the attempts they could to scale the walls in order to join it. The senate was not less agitated than the rest: some were for violent measures, and repelling force by force; others were of opinion that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies would be worse than a defeat. At length, therefore, it was resolved to send a messenger, entreating the army to return home and declare their grievances, promising at the same time an oblivion of all that had passed.

This message not succeeding, Menenius Agrippa, one of the wisest and best of the senators, was of opinion that the people were to be complied with.

It was therefore resolved to enter into a treaty with the people, and to make them such offers as should induce them to return. Ten commissioners were accordingly deputed, at the head of whom were Largius and Valerius, who had been dictators, and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved by the senate and the people. The dignity and the popularity of these ambassadors procured them a very respectable reception among the soldiers, and a long conference began between them. Largius and Valerius employed all their oratory on the one hand; while Sicinius and Lucius Junius, who were

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the ſpokeſmen of the ſoldiery, aggravated their diſtreſſes with all that maſculine eloquence which is the child of nature. The conference had now continued for a long time, when Menenius Agrippa who had been originally a Plebeian himſelf, a ſhrewd man, and who conſequently knew what kind of eloquence was moſt likely to pleaſe the people, addreſſed them with that celebrated fable which is ſo finely told us by Livy.—"In times of old, when every part of the body could think for itſelf, and each had a ſeparate will of its own, they all, with common conſent, reſolved to revolt againſt the belly; they knew no reaſon, they ſaid, why they ſhould toil from morning to night in its ſervice, while the belly in the mean time lay at its eaſe in the midſt of them all, and indolently grew fat upon their labours; accordingly, one and all, they agreed to befriend it no more. The feet vowed they would carry it no longer; the hands vowed they would feed it no longer; and the teeth averred they would not chew a morſel of meat though it were placed between them. Thus reſolved, they all for ſome time ſhewed their ſpirit, and kept their word; but ſoon they found, that inſtead of mortifying the belly by theſe means, they only undid themſelves; they languiſhed for a while, and perceived when too late, that it was owing to the belly that they had ſtrength to work, or courage to mutiny."

This fable, the application of which is obvious, had an inſtantaneous effect upon the people. They unanimouſly cried out that Agrippa ſhould lead them back to Rome; and were making preparations to follow him, when Lucius Junius, before mentioned, withheld them; alledging, that though they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the ſenate, yet they had no ſafeguard for the future againſt their reſentment; that therefore it was neceſſary for the ſecurity of the people, to have certain officers created annually from among themſelves, who ſhould have power to give ſuch of them as ſhould be injured redreſs, and plead the cauſe of the community.

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The people, who are ever of opinion with the laſt ſpeaker, highly applauded this propoſal; which yet the commiſſioners had not power to comply with; they therefore ſent to Rome to take the inſtructions of the ſenate, who, worried with diviſions among themſelves, and harraſſed by complaints from without, were reſolved to have peace at whatſoever price it ſhould be obtained; accordingly, as if with one voice, they conſented to the creation of their new officers, who were called *Tribunes of the People*, Appius alone proteſting with vehemence againſt the meaſure.

The tribunes of the people were at firſt five in number, though afterwards their body was increaſed to five more. They were always annually elected by the people, and almoſt always from their body. They at firſt had their ſeats placed before the door of the ſenate-houſe, and being called in, they were to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *veto, I forbid it;* or confirming it by ſigning the letter *T*, which gave it its validity. This new office being thus inſtituted, Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga, were the firſt tribunes choſen by the ſuffrages of the people. The ſenate alſo made an edict confirming the abolition of debts; and now all things being adjuſted, both on the one ſide and the other, the people, after having ſacrificed to the gods of the mountain, returned back once more in triumph to Rome.

CHAP. XI.

From the creation of the Tribunes, to the appointment of the Decemviri.

[U. C. 260.]

DURING the late ſeparation, all tillage had been entirely neglected, and a famine was the conſequence the enſuing ſeaſon. The ſenate did all that lay in their power to remedy the diſtreſs; but the people, pinched with want, and willing to throw the blame

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on any but themſelves, aſcribed the whole of their diſtreſs to the avarice of the patricians, who, having purchaſed all the corn, as was alledged, intended to indemnify themſelves for the abolition of debts, by ſelling it out to great advantage. But abundance ſoon after appeaſed them for a time. A large fleet of ſhips laden with corn from Sicily, (a great part of which was a preſent from Gelon, the king of that country, to the Romans, and the reſt purchaſed by the ſenate with the public money) raiſed their ſpirits once more.

But Coriolanus incurred their reſentment, by inſiſting that it ſhould not be diſtributed till the grievances of the ſenate were removed. For this the tribunes ſummoned him to a trial before the people.

When the appointed day was come all perſons were filled with the greateſt expectations, and a vaſt concourſe from the adjacent country aſſembled and filled up the Forum. Coriolanus upon this preſented himſelf before the people, with a degree of intrepidity that merited better fortune. His graceful perſon, his perſuaſive eloquence, the cries of thoſe whom he had ſaved from the enemy, inclined the auditors to relent. But being unable to anſwer what was alledged againſt him to the ſatisfaction of the people, and utterly confounded with a new charge of having embezzelled the plunder of Antium, the tribunes immediately took the votes, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual exile.

This ſentence againſt their braveſt defender ſtruck the whole body of the ſenate with ſorrow, conſternation, and regret. Coriolanus alone, in the midſt of the tumult, ſeemed an unconcerned ſpectator. He returned home, followed by the lamentations of hundreds of the moſt reſpectable ſenators and citizens of Rome, to take a laſting leave of his wife, his children, and his mother, Veturia. Thus recommending his little children to their care, and all to the care of heaven, he left the city without followers or fortune, to take refuge with Tullus Attius, a man of great power among the Volſcians, who took him under his protection, and eſpouſed his quarrel.

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The first thing to be done, was to induce the Volsci to break the league which had been made with Rome, and for this purpose Tullus sent many of his citizens thither, in order to see some games at that time celebrating; but in the mean time gave the senate private information that the strangers had dangerous intentions of burning the city. This had the desired effect; the senate issued an order, that all strangers, whoever they were, should depart from Rome before sunset. This order Tullus represented to his countrymen as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to Rome, complaining of the breach, and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed, declaring war in case of a refusal: but this message was treated by the senate with contempt.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were made generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the Plebeians, but letting those of the senators remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome. The two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also shewed their fears, and slowly brought in their succours; so that Coriolanus continued to take their towns one after the other. Fortune followed him in every expedition; and he was now so famous for his victories, that the Volsci left their towns defenceless to follow him into the field. The very soldiers of his colleague's army came over to him, and would acknowledge no other general. Thus finding himself unopposed in the field, and at the head of a numerous army, he at length invested the city of Rome itself, fully resolved to besiege it. It was then that the senate and the people unanimously agreed to send deputies to him with proposals of restoration, in case he should draw off his army.—Coriolanus received their proposals at the head of his

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principal officers, and with the sternness of a gen
that was to give the law refused their offers.

Another embassy was now sent forth, conjuring i
not to exact from his native city aught but what
came Romans to grant. Coriolanus, however, na
rally inflexible and severe, still persisted in his forn
demands, and granted them but three days, in wh
to finish their deliberations. 'In this exigence, all t
was left was another deputation still more solemn t
either of the former, composed of the pontiffs,
priests, and the augurs. These, cloathed in their
bits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful
portment, issued from the city, and entered the ca
of the conqueror; but all in vain; they found h
severe and inflexible as before.

When the people saw them return ineffectually, t
began to give up the commonwealth as lost. Th
temples were filled with old men, with women
children, who, prostrate at their altars, put up th
ardent prayers for the preservation of their country
Nothing was to be heard but anguish and lamentati
nothing to be seen but scenes of affright and distr
At length it was suggested to them, that what co
not be effected by the intercession of the senate, or
adjuration of the priests, might be brought about
the tears of his wife, or the commands of his moth
This deputation seemed to be relished by all; and e
the senate itself gave it the sanction of their author
Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, at first made sc
hesitation to undertake so pious a work, knowing
inflexible temper of her son, and fearing only to s
his disobedience in a new point of light, by reject
the commands of a parent: however, she at last
dertook the embassy, and set forward from the c
accompanied by many of the principal matrons
Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and his two childr
Coriolanus, who at a distance discovered this mourn
train of females, was resolved to give them a den
and called his officers round him to be witnesses of
resolution; but, when told that his mother and
wife were among the number, he instantly came do

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from his tribunal to meet and embrace them. At first, the women's tears and embraces took away the power of words; and the rough soldier himself, hard as he was, could not refrain from sharing in their distress.—Coriolanus now seemed much agitated by contending passions; while his mother, who saw him moved, seconded her words by the most persuasive eloquence, her tears: his wife and children hung round him, entreating for protection and pity; while her fair train, her companions, added their lamentations, and deplored their own and their country's distress. Coriolanus for a moment was silent, feeling the strong conflict between honour and inclination: at length, as if roused from his dream, he flew to take up his mother, who had fallen at his feet, crying out, "O my mother, thou hast "saved Rome, but lost thy son." He accordingly gave orders to draw off the army, pretending to the officers that the city was too strong to be taken. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiss in aggravating the lenity of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return Coriolanus was slain in an insurrection of the people, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome upon the retreat of the Volscian army; but they were clouded soon after by the intrigues of Spurius Cassius, who, wanting to make himself despotic by means of the people, was found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards altering the constitution, and was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by those very people whose interests he had endeavoured to extend.

The year following, the two consuls of the former year, Manlius and Fabius, were cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law, which had been proposed some time before, for equally dividing the lands of the commonwealth among the people, was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off.

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It seems, the Agrarian law was a grant the senate could not think of giving up to the people. The consuls therefore made many delays and excuses, till at length they were once more obliged to have recourse to a dictator, and they fixed upon Quintus Cincinnatus, a man, who had for some time given up all views of ambition, and retired to his little farm, where the deputies of the senate found him holding the plough, and dressed in the mean attire of a labouring husbandman. He appeared but little elevated with the addresses of ceremony, and the pompous habits they brought him; and upon declaring to him the senate's pleasure, he testified rather a concern that his aid should be wanted: he naturally preferred the charms of a country retirement to the fatiguing splendors of office, and only said to his wife, as they were leading him away, "I fear, my Attillia, that for this year our little fields must remain unsown." Thus taking a tender leave, he departed for the city, where both parties were strongly inflamed against each other. However, he was resolved to side with neither: but by a strict attention to the interests of his country, instead of gaining the confidence of faction to seize the esteem of all. Thus by threats, and well timed submission, he prevailed upon the tribunes to put off their law for a time, and carried himself so as to be a terror to the multitude whenever they refused to enlist; and their greatest encourager, whenever their submission deserved it.—Thus having restored that tranquility to the people which he so much loved himself, he again gave up the splendors of ambition, to enjoy it with a greater relish in his little farm.

U. C. 295. Cincinnatus was not long retired from his office, when a fresh exigence of the state once more required his assistance; the Æqui and the Volsci, who, though still worsted, still were for renewing the war, made new inroads into the territories of Rome. Minutius, one of the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus, was sent to oppose them; but being naturally timid, and rather more afraid of being conquered than desirous of victory, his army was driven

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into a defile between two mountains, from which, except through the enemy, there was no egreſs. This, however, the Æqui had the precaution to fortify, by which the Roman army was ſo hemmed in on every ſide, that nothing remained but ſubmiſſion to the enemy, famine, or immediate death. Some knights who found means of getting away privately through the enemy's camp, were the firſt that brought the account of this diſaſter to Rome. Nothing could exceed the conſternation of all ranks of people when informed of it: the ſenate at firſt thought of the other conſul; but not having ſufficient experience of his abilities, they unanimouſly turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and reſolved to make him dictator. Cincinnatus, the only perſon on whom Rome could now place her whole dependence, was found, as before, by the meſſengers of the ſenate, labouring in his little field with chearful induſtry. He was at firſt aſtoniſhed at the enſigns of unbounded power, with which the deputies came to inveſt him; but ſtill more at the approach of the principal of the ſenate, who came out to meet him. A dignity ſo unlooked for, however, had no effect upon the ſimplicity or the integrity of his manners: and being now poſſeſſed of abſolute power, and called upon to nominate his maſter of the horſe, he choſe a poor man named Tarquitius, one who like himſelf deſpiſed riches when they led to diſhonour. Thus the ſaving a great nation was devolved upon an huſbandman taken from the plough, and an obſcure centinel found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator put on a ſerene look, and entreated all thoſe who were able to bear arms to repair before ſunſet to the Campus Martius (the place where the levies were made) with neceſſary arms and proviſions for five days. He put himſelf at the head of theſe, and marching all night with great expedition, he arrived before day within ſight of the enemy. Upon his approach, he ordered his ſoldiers to raiſe a loud ſhout, to appriſe the conſul's army of the relief that was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they ſaw themſelves between two enemies, but ſtill more when they per-

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ceived Cincinnatus making the ſtrongeſt entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their eſcape, and incloſing them as they had encloſed the conſul. To prevent this, a furious combat enſued; but the Æqui being attacked on both ſides, and unable to reſiſt or fly, begged a ceſſation of arms. They offered the dictator his own terms; he gave them their lives; but obliged them, in token of ſervitude, to paſs under the yoke, which was two ſpears ſet upright, and another acroſs, in form of a gallows, beneath which the vanquiſhed were to march. Their captains and generals he made priſoners of war, being reſerved to adorn his triumph. As for the plunder of the enemy's camp, that he gave entirely up to his own ſoldiers, without reſerving any part for himſelf, or permitting thoſe of the delivered army to have a ſhare. Thus having reſcued a Roman army from inevitable deſtruction, having defeated a powerful enemy, having taken and fortified their city, and, ſtill more, having refuſed any part of the ſpoil, he reſigned his dictatorſhip after having enjoyed it but fourteen days. The ſenate would have enriched him, but he declined their proffers, chuſing to retire once more to his farm and cottage, content with temperance and fame.

But this repoſe from foreign invaſion did not leſſen the tumults of the city within. The clamours for the Agrarian law ſtill continued, and ſtill more fiercely; when Siccius Dentatus, a Plebeian, advanced in years, but of an admirable perſon and military deportment, came forward to enumerate his hardſhips and his merits. This old ſoldier made no ſcruple of extolling the various atchievements of his youth: but indeed his merits ſupported oſtentation. He had ſerved his country in the wars forty years; he had been an officer thirty, firſt a centurion, and then a tribune; he had fought one hundred and twenty battles; in which, by the force of his ſingle arm, he had ſaved a multitude of lives: he had gained fourteen civic, three mural, and eight golden crowns, beſides eighty-three chains, ſixty bracelets, eighteen gilt ſpears, and twenty-three horſe trappings, whereof nine were for killing the ene-

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my in single combat: moreover, he had received forty-five wounds, all before, and none behind. These were his honours; yet notwithstanding all this, he had never received any share of those lands which were won from the enemy, but continued to draw on a life of poverty and contempt, while others were possessed of those very territories which his valour had won, without any merit to deserve them, or ever having contributed to the conquest. A case of so much hardship had a strong effect upon the multitude: they unanimously demanded that the law might be passed, and that such merit should not go unrewarded. It was in vain that some of the senators rose up to speak against it; their voices were drowned by the cries of the people. When reason therefore could no longer be heard, passion, as usual, succeeded; and the young patricians running furiously into the throng, broke the balloting urns, and dispersed the multitude that offered to oppose them. For this they were some time after fined by the tribunes, but their resolution nevertheless, for the present, put off the Agrarian law.

CHAP. XII.

From the creation of the Decemviri, to the extinction of that office.

[U. C. 302.]

THE commonwealth of Rome had now for near sixty years been fluctuating between the contending orders that composed it, till at length each side, as if weary, were willing to respite a while from the mutual exertions of their claims. The citizens, now therefore of every rank, began to complain of the arbitrary decisions of their magistrates, and wished to be guided by a written body of laws, which being known, might prevent wrongs as well as punish them. In this, both the senate and the people concurred, as hoping that such laws would put an end to the commotions that so long had harrassed the state. It was thereupon

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agreed that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Greek cities in Italy, and to Athens, to bring home ſuch laws from thence, as by experience had been found moſt equitable and uſeful. For this purpoſe three ſenators, Poſthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fixed upon, and gallies aſſigned to convoy them agreeable to the majeſty of the Roman people. While they were upon this commiſſion abroad, a dreadful plague depopulated the city at home, and ſupplied the interval of their abſence with other anxiety than that of wiſhes for their return. In about a year the plague ceaſed, and the ambaſſadors returned, bringing home a body of laws collected from the moſt civilized ſtates of Greece and Italy, which being afterwards formed into ten tables, and two more being added, made that celebrated code, called the laws of the Twelve Tables, many fragments of which remain to this day.

The ambaſſadors were no ſooner returned, than the tribunes required that a body of men ſhould be choſen to digeſt their new laws into proper form, and to give weight to the execution of them. After long debates whether this choice ſhould not be partly made from the people as well as the patricians, it was at laſt agreed that ten of the principal ſenators ſhould be elected, whoſe power, continuing for a year, ſhould be equal to that of kings and conſuls, and that without any appeal. The perſons choſen were Appius and Genutius, who had been elected conſuls for the enſuing year; Poſthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the three ambaſſadors; Sextus and Romulus, former conſuls; with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius, ſenators of the firſt conſideration. Thus the whole conſtitution of the ſtate at once took a new form, and a dreadful experiment was going to be tried, of governing one nation by laws formed from the manners and cuſtoms of another.

The decemviri, being now inveſted with abſolute power, agreed to take the reins of government by turns, and that each ſhould diſpenſe juſtice for a day.

Theſe magiſtrates for the firſt year wrought with extreme application; and their work being finiſhed, it

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was expected that they would be contented to give up their offices; but having known the charms of power, they were now unwilling to resign it; they therefore pretended that some laws were yet wanting to complete their design, and entreated the senate for a continuance of their offices; to which that body assented.

But they soon threw off the mask of moderation, and regardless either of the approbation of the senate or the people, resolved to continue themselves, against all order, in the decemvirate. A conduct so notorious produced discontents, and these were as sure to produce fresh acts of tyranny. The city was become almost a desart with respect to all who had any thing to lose, and the decemvir's rapacity was then only discontinued, when they wanted fresh objects to exercise it upon. In this state of slavery, proscription and mutual distrust, not one citizen was found to strike for his country's freedom; these tyrants continued to rule without controul, being constantly guarded, not with their lictors alone, but a numerous crowd of dependents, clients, and even patricians, whom their vices had confederated round them.

In this gloomy situation of the state, the Æqui and Volsci, those constant enemies of the Romans, undertook their incursions, resolved to profit by the intestine divisions of the people, and advanced within about ten miles of Rome.

But the decemviri being put in possession of all the military, as well as of the civil power, divided their army into three parts; whereof one continued with Appius in the city to keep it in awe; the other two were commanded by his colleagues, and were led, one against the Æqui, and the other against the Sabines. The Roman soldiers had now got into a method of punishing the generals whom they disliked, by suffering themselves to be vanquished in the field. They put it in practice on this occasion, and shamefully abandoned their camp upon the approach of the enemy.—Never was the news of a victory more joyfully received at Rome than the tiding of this defeat; the generals, as is always the case, were blamed for the treach-

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ery of their men, some demanded that they should be deposed, others cried out for a dictator to lead the troops to conquest; but among the rest, old Siccius Dentatus, the tribune, spoke his sentiments with his usual openness; and treating the generals with contempt, shewed all the faults of their discipline in the camp, and their conduct in the field. Appius in the mean time was not remiss in observing the disposition of the people. Dentatus in particular was marked out for vengeance, and, under pretence of doing him particular honour, he was appointed legate, and put at the head of the supplies which were sent from Rome to reinforce the army. The office of legate was held sacred among the Romans, as in it were united the authority of a general with the reverence due to the priesthood. Dentatus, no way suspecting his design, went to the camp with alacrity, where he was received with all the external marks of respect. But the generals soon found means of indulging their desire of revenge. He was appointed at the head of an hundred men to go and examine a more commodious place for encampment as he had very candidly assured the commanders that their present situation was wrong. The soldiers, however, who were given as his attendants, were assassins; wretches who had long been ministers of the vengeance of the decemviri, and who now engaged to murder him, though with all those apprehensions, which his reputation, as he was called the Roman Achilles, might be supposed to inspire. With these designs they led him from the way into the hollow bosom of a retired mountain, where they began to set upon him from behind. Dentatus now too late perceived the treachery of the decemviri, and was resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could; he therefore put his back to a rock, and defended himself against those who pressed most closely. Though now grown old, he had still the remains of his former valour, and killed no less than fifteen of the assailants, and wounded thirty with his own hand. The assassins now therefore terrified at his amazing bravery, showered in their javelins upon him at a distance all which he received

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in his shield with undaunted resolution. The combat, though so unequal in numbers, was managed for some time with doubtful success, till at length his assailants bethought themselves of ascending the rock against which he stood, and thus poured down stones upon him from above. This succeeded, the old soldier fell beneath their united efforts, after having shewn, by his death, that he owed it to his fortitude, and not his fortune, that he had come off so many times victorious. The decemviri pretended to join in the general sorrow for so brave a man, and decreed him a funeral with the first military honours; but the greatness of their apparent distress, compared with their known hatred, only rendered them still more detestable to the people.

But a transaction still more atrocious than the former served to inspire the citizens with a resolution to break all measures of obedience, and at last to restore freedom. Appius, who still remained at Rome, sitting one day on his tribunal to dispense justice, saw a maiden of exquisite beauty, and aged about fifteen, passing to one of the public schools, attended by a matron, her nurse. The charms of this damsel, heightened by all the innocence of virgin modesty, caught his attention, and fired his heart. The day following, as she passed, he found her still more beautiful than before, and his breast still more inflamed. He now therefore resolved to obtain the gratification of his passion whatever should be the consequence, and found means to inform himself of the virgin's name and family. Her name was Virginia: she was the daughter of Virginius, a centurion, then with the army in the field, and had been contracted to Icilius, formerly a tribune of the people, who had agreed to marry her at the end of the present campaign. Appius at first resolved to break this match, and to espouse her himself; but the laws of the Twelve Tables had forbidden the patricians to intermarry with the plebeians; and he could not infringe these, as he was the enactor of them. Nothing therefore remained but a criminal enjoyment, which, as he was long used to the indulgence of his passions,

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he resolved to obtain. After having vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of her nurse, he had recourse to another expedient still more guilty. He pitched upon one Claudius, who had long been the minister of his pleasures, to assert the beautiful maid was his slave, and to refer the cause to his tribunal for decision.—Claudius behaved exactly according to his instructions, for entering into the school where Virginia was playing among her female companions, he seized upon her as his property, and was going to drag her away by force, but was prevented by the people drawn together by her cries. At length, after the first heat of opposition was over, he led the weeping virgin to the tribunal of Appius, and there plausibly exposed his pretensions. He asserted that she was born in his house of a female slave, who sold her to the wife of Virginius, who had been barren; that he had several credible evidences to prove the truth of what he said; but that, until they could come together, it was reasonable the slave should be delivered into his custody, being her proper master. Appius seemed to be struck with the justice of his claims: he observed, that if the reputed father himself were present, he might indeed be willing to delay the delivery of the maiden for some time, but that it was not lawful for him in the present case to detain her from her lawful master. He therefore adjudged her to Claudius, as his slave, to be kept by him till Virginius should be able to prove his paternity. This sentence was received with loud clamours and reproaches by the multitude: the women in particular came round the innocent Virginia, as if willing to protect her from the judge's fury, while Icilius, her lover, boldly opposed the decree, and obliged Claudius to take refuge under the tribunal of the decemvir. All things now threatened an open insurrection, when Appius, fearing the event, thought proper to suspend his judgment till the arrival of Virginius, who was then about eleven miles from Rome with the army. The day following was fixed for the trial, and in the mean time Appius sent letters to the generals to confine Virginius, as his arrival in town might

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only ſerve to kindle ſedition among the people. Theſe letters, however, were intercepted by the centurion's friends, who ſent him down a full relation of the deſign laid againſt the liberty and the honour of his only daughter. Virginius upon this pretending the death of a near relation, got permiſſion to leave the camp, and flew to Rome, inſpired with indignation and revenge. Accordingly the next day, he appeared before the tribunal, to the aſtoniſhment of Appius, leading his weeping daughter by the hand, both habited in the deepeſt mourning. Claudius, the accuſer, was alſo there, and began by making his demand. Virginius next ſpoke in turn; he repreſented that his wife had many children; that ſhe had been ſeen pregnant by numbers; that if he had intentions of adopting a ſuppoſitious child, he would have fixed upon a boy rather than a girl; that it was notorious to all that his wife had herſelf ſuckled her own child; and that it was ſurpriſing ſuch a claim ſhould be now revived after a fifteen years diſcontinuance. While the father ſpoke this with a ſtern air, Virginia ſtood trembling by, and with looks of perſuaſive innocence, added weight to all his remonſtrances. The people ſeemed entirely ſatisfied of the hardſhip of his caſe, till Appius, fearing what he ſaid might have dangerous effects upon the multitude, interrupted him, under a pretence of being ſufficiently inſtructed in the merits of the cauſe. "Yes," ſays he, "my conſcience obliges me to declare, that I myſelf "am witneſs to the truth of the depoſition of Claudi- "us. Moſt of this aſſembly know, that I was left "guardian to this youth; and I was very early appri- "zed that he had a right to this young woman; but "the affairs of the public, and the diſſentions of the "people, then prevented me doing him juſtice. How- "ever, it is not now too late: and, by the power "veſted in me for the public good, I adjudge Virginia "to be the property of Claudius, the plaintiff. Go "therefore lictors, diſperſe the multitude, and make "room for a maſter to repoſſeſs himſelf of his ſlave." The lictors, in obedience to his command, ſoon drove off the throng that preſſed round the tribunal; and

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how they seized upon Virginia, and were delivering her up into the hands of Claudius, when Virginius, who found that all was over, seemed to acquiesce in the sentence. He therefore mildly entreated Appius to be permitted to take a last farewell of one whom he had long considered as his child, and, so satisfied, he would return to his duty with fresh alacrity. With this the decemvir complied, but upon condition that their endearments should pass in his presence. Virginius, with the most poignant anguish, took his almost expiring daughter in his arms, for a while supported her head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears that rolled down her lovely visage; and happening to be near the shops that surrounded the Forum, he snatched up a knife that lay on the shambles, and addressing his daughter, "My dearest lost child," cried he, "this, "this alone can preserve your honour and your free-"dom." So saying, he buried the weapon in her breast, and then holding it up reeking with the blood of his daughter, "Appius," he cried, "by this blood "of innocence, I devote thy head to the infernal "gods." Thus saying, with the bloody knife in his hand, and threatening destruction to whomsoever should oppose him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to strike for freedom, and from thence went to the camp, in order to spread a like flame through the army.

He no sooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, but he informed the army of all that was done, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of their gods, for having committed so rash an action, but ascribed it all to the dreadful necessity of the times.—The army, already predispoſed, immediately with shouts echoed their approbation; and decamping, left their generals behind to take their station once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other, which had been to oppose the Sabines, seemed to feel a like resentment, and came over in large parties to join them.

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Appius in the mean time did all he could to quell the disturbances in the city; but finding the tumult incapable of controul, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, at first attempted to find safety by flight; nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, who was one of his colleagues, he ventured to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment of all deserters. The senate, however, were far from giving the relief he sought for; they foresaw the dangers and miseries that threatened the state in case of opposing the incensed army; they therefore dispatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government. To this proposal all the people joyfully assented, and the army gladly obeyed, now returning to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure of a triumphant entry. Appius, and Oppius one of his colleagues, both died by their own hands in prison. The other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was driven out after them.

In the mean time, these intestine tumults produced weakness within the state, and confidence in the enemy abroad. The wars with the Æqui and Volsci still continued; and as each year some trifling advantages were obtained over the Romans, they at last advanced so far as to make their incursions to the very walls of Rome.

U. C. 309. But not the courage only of the Romans seemed diminished by these conquests, but their other virtues also, particularly their justice.—About this time the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, Ardea and Aricia, had a contest between themselves about some lands that had long been claimed by both. At length, being unable to agree, they referred it to the senate and the people of Rome. The senate had yet some of the principles of primitive justice remaining, and refused to determine the dispute. But the people readily undertook the decision; and one Scaptius, an old man, declaring that these very lands of right belonged to Rome, they immediately voted themselves to be the legal possessors, and sent home the

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former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injuſtice.

The tribunes now grew more turbulent; they propoſed two laws, one to permit Plebeians to intermarry with Patricians, and the other to permit them to be admitted to the conſulſhip alſo. The ſenators received theſe propoſals with indignation, and ſeemed reſolved to undergo the utmoſt extremities rather than ſubmit to enact them. However, finding their reſiſtance only to increaſe the commotions of the ſtate, they at laſt conſented to paſs the law concerning marriages, hoping that this conceſſion would ſatisfy the people.—But they were to be appeaſed but for a very ſhort time; for returning to their old cuſtom of refuſing to enliſt upon the approach of an enemy, the conſuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the ſenate, where, after many debates, Claudius propoſed an expedient as the moſt probable means of ſatisfying the people in the preſent conjuncture. This was to create ſix or eight governors in the room of conſuls, whereof one half at leaſt ſhould be patricians. This project, which was in fact granting what the people demanded, pleaſed the whole meeting; and it was agreed, that at the next public meeting of the ſenate, the conſuls ſhould, contrary to their uſual cuſtom, begin by aſking the opinion of the youngeſt ſenator. Upon aſſembling the ſenate, one of the tribunes accuſed them of holding ſecret meetings, and managing dangerous deſigns againſt the people. The conſuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonſtrate their ſincerity, gave any of the younger members of the houſe leave to propound their opinions. Theſe remaining ſilent, ſuch of the older ſenators as were known to be popular, began by obſerving that the people ought to be indulged in their requeſt, that none ſo well deſerved power as thoſe who were moſt inſtrumental in gaining it, and that the city could not be free, until all were reduced to perfect equality. Claudius ſpoke next, and broke out into bitter invectives againſt the people, aſſerting that it was his opinion that the law ſhould not paſs. This produced ſome diſturbance among the ple-

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beians; at length, Genutius propoſed, as had been preconcerted, that ſix governors ſhould be annually choſen, with conſular authority, three from the ſenate, and three from the people, and that when the time of their magiſtracy ſhould be expired, then it would be ſeen whether they ſhould have the ſame office continued, or whether the conſulſhip ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon its former footing. This project was eagerly embraced by the people; yet ſo fickle were the multitude, that though many of the plebeians ſtood, the choice wholly fell upon the patricians, who offered themſelves as candidates. Theſe new magiſtrates were called Military Tribunes; they were at firſt but three, afterwards they were increaſed to four, and at length to ſix. They had the power and enſigns of conſuls; yet that power being divided among a number, each ſingly was of leſs authority. The firſt that were choſen only continued in office about three months, the augurs having found ſomething amiſs in the ceremonies of their election.

U. C. 310.

The military tribunes being depoſed, the conſuls once more came into office; in order to lighten the weight of buſineſs which they were obliged to ſuſtain, a new office was erected, namely, that of Cenſors, to be choſen every fifth year. Their buſineſs was to take an eſtimate of the number and eſtates of the people, and to diſtribute them into their proper claſſes; to inſpect into the lives and manner of their fellow-citizens; to degrade ſenators for miſconduct; to diſmount knights, and to turn down plebeians from their tribes into an inferior in caſe of miſdemeanor. The two firſt cenſors were Papirius and Semphronius, both patricians; and from this order they continued to be elected for near an hundred years.

This new creation ſerved to reſtore peace for ſome time among the orders; and a triumph gained over the Volſcians by Gaganius the conſul, added to the univerſal ſatisfaction that reigned among the people.

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This calm, however was but of a short continuance; for, some time after, a famine pressing hard upon the poor, the usual complaints against the rich were renewed; and these as before, proving ineffectual, produced new seditions. The consuls were accused of neglect in not having laid in proper quantities of corn; they however disregarded the murmurs of the populace, content with exerting all their care in attempts to supply the pressing necessities. But though they did all that could be expected from active magistrates in providing and distributing provisions to the poor, yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had purchased up all the corn of Tuscany, by far outshone them in liberality. This demagogue, inflamed with a secret desire of becoming powerful by the contentions in the state, distributed corn in greater quantities among the poorer sort each day, till his house became the asylum of all such as wished to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus gained a sufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his house by night, and formed a conspiracy by which he was to obtain the command, while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him in seizing the liberties of his country. Minucius soon discovered the plot; and informing the senate thereof, they immediately formed a resolution of creating a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy without appealing to the people. Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending danger. He began by summoning Mælius to appear, who refused to obey. He next sent Ahala, the master of his horse to force him; who, meeting him in the Forum, and pressing Mælius to follow him to the dictator's tribunal, upon his refusal, Ahala killed him on the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his officer, and commanded the conspirator's goods to be sold, and his house to be demolished, distributing his stores among the people.

U. C. 313.

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The tribunes of the people were much enraged at the death of Mælius; and, in order to puniſh the ſenate at the next election, inſtead of conſuls, inſiſted upon reſtoring their military tribunes. With this the ſenate were obliged to comply. The next year, however, the government returned to its ancient channel, and conſuls were choſen.

U. C. 315.

The Veians had long been the rivals of Rome; they had ever taken the opportunity of its internal diſtreſſes to ravage its territories, and had even threatened its ambaſſadors, ſent to complain of theſe injuries, with outrage. It ſeemed now therefore determined that the city of Veii, whatever it ſhould coſt, was to fall; and the Romans accordingly ſat regularly down before it, prepared for a long and painful reſiſtance. The ſtrength of the place may be inferred from the continuance of the ſiege, which laſted for ten years; during which time the army continued encamped round it, lying in winter under tents made of the ſkins of beaſts, and in ſummer driving on the operations of the attack. Various was the ſucceſs, and many were the commanders that directed the ſiege; ſometimes all the beſiegers' works were deſtroyed, and many of their men cut off by ſallies from the town, ſometimes they were annoyed by an army of Veians, who attempted to bring aſſiſtance from without. A ſiege ſo bloody ſeemed to threaten depopulation to Rome itſelf, by draining its forces continually away; ſo that a law was obliged to be made for all the bachelors to marry the widows of the ſoldiers who were ſlain. In order to carry it on with greater vigour, Furius Camillus was created dictator, and to him was entruſted the ſole power of managing the long protracted war. Camillus, who, without intrigue or any ſolicitation, had raiſed himſelf to the firſt eminence in the ſtate, had been made one of the cenſors ſome time before, and was conſidered as the head of that office; he was afterwards made a military tribune, and had in this poſt gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. It was his great courage and abilities in the above offices that made him thought moſt worthy to ſerve his country on this preſſing oc-

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casion. Upon his appointment, numbers of people flocked to his standard, confident of success under so experienced a commander. Conscious, however, that he was unable to take the city by storm, he secretly wrought a mine into it with vast labour, which opened into the midst of the citadel. Certain thus of success, and finding the city incapable of relief, he sent to the senate, desiring that all who chose to share in the plunder of the Veii should immediately repair to the army. Then giving his men directions how to enter at the breach, the city was instantly filled with his legions, to the amazement and consternation of the besieged, who but a moment before had rested in perfect security. Thus, like a second Troy, was the city of Veii taken after a ten years siege, and with its spoils enriched the conquerors; while Camillus himself, transported with the honour of having subdued the rival of his native city, triumphed after the manner of the kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn by four milk-white horses; a distinction which did not fail to disgust the majority of the spectators, as they considered those as sacred, and more proper for doing honour to their gods than their generals.

His usual good fortune attended Camillus in another expedition against the Falisci; he routed their army, and besieged their capital city Falerii, which threatened a long and vigorous resistance. The reduction of this little place would have been scarce worth mentioning in this scanty page, were it not for an action of the Roman general, that has done him more credit with posterity than all his other triumphs united. A schoolmaster, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men of the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of inducing the citizens to a speedy surrender. The general was struck with the treachery of a wretch whose duty it was to protect innocence and not betray it; he for some time regarded the traitor with a stern air, but at last finding words, "Execrable "villain," cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abomi-

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"nable propoſals to creatures like thyſelf, and not to "me; what though we be enemies of your city, yet "there are natural ties that bind all mankind, which "ſhould never be broken: there are duties required "from us in war as well as in peace: we fight not "againſt an age of innocence but againſt men; men "who have uſed us ill indeed, but yet whoſe crimes "are virtues when compared to thine. Againſt ſuch "baſe arts let it be my duty to uſe only Roman arts, "the arts of valour and of arms." So ſaying, he immediately ordered him to be ſtript, his hands tied behind him, and in that ignominious manner to be whipped into the town by his own ſcholars. This generous behaviour in Camillus effected more than his arms could do: the magiſtrates of the town immediately ſubmitted to the ſenate, leaving to Camillus the conditions of their ſurrender, who only fined them a ſum of money to ſatisfy the army, and received them under the protection and into the alliance of Rome.

Notwithſtanding the veneration which the virtues of Camillus had excited abroad, they ſeemed but little adapted to bring over the turbulent tribunes at home, as they raiſed ſome freſh accuſation againſt him every day. To the charge of being an oppoſer of their intended migration from Rome to Veii, they added that of his having concealed a part of the plunder of that city, particularly two brazen gates for his own uſe, and appointed him a day on which to appear before the people. Camillus finding the multitude exaſperated againſt him upon many accounts, deteſting their ingratitude, reſolved not to wait the ignominy of a trial, but embracing his wife and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already paſſed as far as one of the gates, unattended on his way, and unlamented. There he could ſuppreſs his indignation no longer, but turning his face to the capitol, and lifting up his hands to heaven, entreated all the gods that his country might one day be ſenſible of their injuſtice and ingratitude; and ſo ſaying, he paſt forward to take refuge at Ardea, a town at a little diſtance from Rome, where

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afterwards learned that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses by the tribunes at home.

The tribunes were not a little pleased with their triumph over this great man; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one who alone was able to protect their country from ruin. For now a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make its appearance than the Romans had ever yet encountered. The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern parts of Italy. They had been invited over by the deliciousness of the wines, and the softness of the climate.—Wherever they came, they dispossessed the original inhabitants, as they were men of superior courage, extraordinary stature, fierce in aspect, barbarous in their manners, and prone to emigration. A body of these, wild from their original habitations, were now besieging Clusium, a city of Etruria, under the conduct of Brennus, their king. The inhabitants of Clusium, frightened at their numbers, and still more at their savage appearance, entreated the assistance, or, at least, the mediation of the Romans. The senate, who had long made it a maxim never to refuse succour to the distressed, were willing previously to send ambassadors to the Gauls to dissuade them from their enterprize, and to shew the injustice of the irruption. Accordingly, three young senators were chosen out of the family of the Fabii to manage the commission, who seemed more fitted for the field than the cabinet. Brennus received them with a degree of complaisance that argued but little of the barbarian; and desiring to know the business of their embassy, was answered, according to their instructions, that it was not customary in Italy to make war but on just grounds of provocation, and that they desired to know what offence the citizens of Clusium had given to the king of the Gauls? To this Brennus sternly replied, that the rights of valiant men lay in their swords; that the Romans themselves had no right to the many cities they had conquered; and that he had particular reasons of resentment against the

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people of Cluſium, as they refuſed to part with thoſe lands which they had neither hands to till nor inhabitants to occupy. The Roman ambaſſadors, who were but little uſed to the language of a conqueror, for a while diſſembled their reſentment at this haughty reply; but, upon entering the beſieged city, inſtead of acting as ambaſſadors, and forgetful of their ſacred characters, headed the citizens in a ſally againſt the beſiegers. In this combat Fabius Ambuſtus killed a Gaul with his own hand, but was diſcovered while he was deſpoiling him of his armour. A conduct ſo unjuſt and unbecoming excited the reſentment of Brennus, who having made his complaint by an herald to the ſenate, and finding no redreſs, immediately broke up the ſiege, and marched away with his conquering army directly to Rome.

The countries through which the Gauls paſſed in their rapid progreſs gave up all hopes of ſafety upon their approach; being terrified at their vaſt numbers, the fierceneſs of their natures, and their dreadful preparations for war. But the rage and impetuoſity of this wild people were directed only againſt Rome. They went on without doing the leaſt injury in their march, ſtill breathing vengeance only againſt the Romans; and a terrible engagement ſoon after enſued, in which the Romans were defeated near the river Allia, with the loſs of near forty thouſand men.

Rome thus deprived of all ſuccour prepared for every extremity. The inhabitants endeavoured to hide themſelves in ſome of the neighbouring towns, or reſolved to await the conqueror's fury, and end their lives with the ruin of their native city. But, more particularly, the ancient ſenators and prieſts, ſtruck with religious enthuſiaſm on this occaſion, reſolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and habited in the robes of ceremony, placed themſelves in the Forum on their ivory chairs. The Gauls in the mean time were giving a loſe to their triumph in ſharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies' camp. Had they immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the capitol itſelf had been taken; but they conti-

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nued two days feasting themselves upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered enemies. On the third day after the victory, the easiness of which much amazed the Gauls, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city.—He was at first much surprised to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceless; so that he began to impute the unguarded situation of the place to a stratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions he entered the city, and, marching into the Forum, there beheld the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks of these old men, who had all, in their time, borne the highest offices of the state, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer blind adoration, till one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand to stroke the beard of Papyrius; an insult the noble Roman could not endure, but lifting up his ivory sceptre, struck the savage to the ground. This seemed as a signal for general slaughter. Papyrius fell first, and all the rest shared his fate, without mercy or distinction. Thus the fierce invaders pursued their slaughter for three days successively, sparing neither sex nor age, and then setting fire to the city, burnt every house to the ground.

U. C. 364. All the hopes of Rome were now placed in the capitol; every thing without that fortress was but an extensive scene of misery, desolation, and despair. Brennus first summoned it, with threats, to surrender, but in vain; he then resolved to besiege it in form, and hemmed it round with his army. Nevertheless the Romans repelled his attempts with great bravery; despair had supplied them with that perseverance and vigour which they seemed to want when in prosperity.

In the mean while, Brennus carried on the siege with extreme ardour. He hoped, in time, to starve the garrison into a capitulation; but they, sensible of his intent, although they were in actual want, caused se-

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veral loaves to be thrown into his camp, to convince him of the futility of such expectations. His hopes failing in this, were soon after revived, when some of his soldiers came to inform him that they had discovered some footsteps which led up the rock, and by which they supposed the capitol might be surprised. Accordingly, a chosen body of his men were ordered by night upon this dangerous service, which they with great labour and difficulty almost effected; they were now got upon the very wall; the Roman sentinel was fast asleep; their dogs within gave no signal, and all promised an instant victory, when the garrison was awaked by the gabbling of some sacred geese that had been kept in the temple of Juno. The besieged soon perceived the imminence of their danger, and each snatched the weapon he could instantly find, ran to oppose the assailants. Manlius, a patrician of acknowledged bravery, was the first who exerted all his strength, and inspired courage by his example. He boldly mounted the rampart, and, at one effort, threw two Gauls headlong down the precipice: others soon came to his assistance, and the walls were cleared of the enemy in a space of time shorter than that employed in the recital.

From this time forward the hopes of the barbarians began to decline, and Brennus wished for an opportunity of raising the siege with credit. His soldiers had often conferences with the besieged while upon duty, and the proposals for an accommodation were wished for by the common men before the chiefs thought of a congress. At length the commanders on both sides came to an agreement that the Gauls should immediately quit the city and territories of Rome, upon being paid a thousand pounds weight of gold. This agreement being confirmed by oath on either side, the gold was brought forth; but, upon weighing, the Gauls fraudulently attempted to kick the beam, of which the Romans complaining, Brennus insultingly cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out, that the only portion of the vanquished was to suffer. By this reply the Romans saw that they were at the victor's mercy, and knew it was in vain to expostulate against

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any conditions he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe. But in this very juncture, and while they were thus debating upon the payment, it was told them that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a large army, haſtening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. Camillus actually appeared ſoon after, and entering the place of controverſy, with the air of one who was reſolved not to ſuffer impoſition, demanded the cauſe of the conteſt; of which being informed, he ordered the gold to be taken and carried back to the capitol, "For it has ever been," cried he, "the manner of us Romans to ranſom our country, not with "gold, but with iron; it is I only that am to make "peace, as being the dictator of Rome, and my ſword "alone ſhall purchaſe it." Upon this a battle enſued, in which the Gauls were entirely routed; and ſuch a ſlaughter followed, that the Roman territories were ſoon cleared of their formidable invaders. Thus was Rome, by the bravery of Camillus, cleared of its foes.

The city being one continued heap of ruins, except the capitol, and the greateſt number of its former inhabitants having gone to take refuge in Veii, the tribunes of the people, urge for the removal of the poor remains of Rome to Veii, where they might have houſes to ſhelter, and walls to defend them. On this occaſion Camillus attempted to appeaſe them with all the arts of perſuaſion, obſerving, that it was unworthy of them, both as Romans and as men, to deſert the venerable ſeats of their anceſtors, where they had been encouraged by repeated marks of divine approbation, to remove to, and inhabit, a city which they had conquered, and which wanted even the good fortune of defending itſelf. By theſe and ſuch like remonſtrances he prevailed upon the people to go contentedly to work; and Rome ſoon began to riſe from its aſhes.

We have already ſeen the bravery of Manlius in defending the capitol, and ſaving the laſt remains of Rome. For this the people were by no means ungrateful, having built him an houſe near the place where his valour was ſo conſpicuous, and having appointed him a public fund for his ſupport. But he aſpired at

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being not only equal to Camillus but to be sovereign of Rome. With this view he laboured to ingratiate himself with the populace, paid their debts, and railed at the patricians, whom he called their oppressors. The senate was not ignorant of his discourses or his designs, and created Cornelius Cossus dictator, with a view to curb the ambition of Manlius. The dictator soon finished an expedition against the Volscians by a victory; and upon his return called Manlius to an account for his conduct. Manlius, however, was too much the darling of the populace to be affected by the power of Cossus, who was obliged to lay down his office, and Manlius was carried from confinement in triumph through the city. This success only served to enflame his ambition. He now began to talk of a division of the lands among the people; insinuated that there should be no distinctions in the state; and, to give weight to his discourses, always appeared at the head of a large body of the dregs of the people, whom his largesses had made his followers. The city being thus filled with sedition and clamour, the senate had recourse to another expedient, and to oppose the power of Camillus to that of the demagogue. Camillus accordingly being made one of the military tribunes, appointed Manlius a day to answer for his life. The place in which he was cried was near the capitol, where, when he was accused of sedition, and of aspiring at sovereignty, he only turned his eyes, and, pointing thither, put them in mind of what he had there done for his country. The multitude, whose compassion, or whose justice seldom springs from rational motives, refused to condemn him, while he pleaded in sight of the capitol: but when he was brought from thence to the Peteline grove, and where the capitol was no longer to be seen, they condemned him to be thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock. Thus the place which had been the theatre of his glory become that of his punishment and infamy. His house, in which his conspiracies had been secretly carried on, was ordered to be razed to the ground, and his family were forbidden ever after to assume the name of Manlius.

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In this manner, therefore, the Romans went gradually forward, with a mixture of turbulence and superstition within their walls, and successful enterprises without. With what an implicit obedience they submitted to their pontiffs, we have already seen in many instances, and how far they might be impelled, even to encounter death itself at their command, will evidently appear from the behaviour of Curtius about this time, who, upon the opening of a gulph in the Forum, which the augurs affirmed would never close up till the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it, this heroic man leaped with his horse and armour boldly into the midst, saying, that nothing was more truly valuable than patriotism and military virtue. The gulph, say the historians, closed immediately upon this, and Curtius was never seen after.

U. C. 392.

CHAP. XIII.

From the wars of the Samnites, and the wars with Pyrrhus, to the beginning of the first Punic war, when the Romans first went out of Italy.

THE Romans having now triumphed over the Sabines, the Etrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volscians, began to look for greater conquests. They accordingly turned their arms against the Samnites, a people about an hundred miles east from the city, descended from the Sabines, and inhabiting a large tract of southern Italy, which at this day makes a considerable part of the kingdom of Naples. Valerius Corvus and Cornelius were the two consuls, to whose care it first fell to manage this dreadful contention between the rival states.

Valerius was one of the greatest commanders of his time; he was surnamed Corvus, from a strange circumstance of being assisted by a crow in a single combat, in which he fought and killed a Gaul of a gigantic stature. To his colleague's care it was consigned to

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lead an army to Samnium, the enemy's capitol, while Corvus was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of the Campanians. Never was captain more fitted for command than he. To an habit naturally robust and athletic he joined the gentlest manners; he was the fiercest, and yet the most good natured man in the army; and, while the meanest centinel was his companion, no man kept them more strictly to their duty: but what completes his character, he constantly endeavoured to preserve his dignities by the same arts by which he gained them. Such soldiers as the Romans then were, hardened by their late adversity, and led on by such a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites were the bravest men they ever yet encountered; and the contention between the two nations was managed on both sides with the most determined resolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring that they were not able to withstand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans. The other consul, however, was not at first so fortunate; for having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune of the army, possessed himself of a hill which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites, being attacked on either side, were defeated with great slaughter; no less than thirty thousand of them being left dead upon the field of battle.

Some time after this victory, the soldiers, who were stationed at Capua, mutinying, forced Quintius, an old and eminent soldier, who was then residing in the country, to be their leader; and, conducted by their rage more than their general, came within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at their gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and sent him forth with another army to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves prepared to engage in opposite causes. Any other general but Corvus would perhaps have brought this civil war to an extremity; but he, knowing his influence among the

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soldiery, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in an hostile manner, went with the most cordial friendship to embrace and expostulate with his old acquaintances. His conduct had the desired effect.—Quintius, as their speaker, only desired to have their defection from their duty forgiven; and as for himself, as he was innocent of their conspiracy, he had no reason to solicit pardon for his offences. Thus this defection which at first threatened such dangers to Rome, was repaired by the prudence and moderation of a general, whose ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies.

A war between the Romans and the Latins followed soon after; but, as their habits, arms, and language were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders therefore were issued by Manlius, the consul, that no soldier should leave his ranks upon whatever provocation, and that he should certainly be put to death who should offer to do otherwise. With these injunctions both armies were drawn out in array, and ready to begin, when Metius, the general of the enemy's cavalry, pushed forward from his lines, and challenged any knight in the Roman army to single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no soldier offering to disobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the consul's own son, burning with shame to see the whole body of the Romans intimidated, boldly singled out against his adversary. The soldiers, on both sides, for a while, suspended the general engagement, to be spectators of this fierce encounter. The two champions drove their horses against each other with great violence: Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The Latin, being thus fallen to the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows with so much force, that he laid him dead as he was endeavouring to rise; and then despoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the consul his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engage-

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ment. Howſoever he might have been applauded by his fellow ſoldiers, being as yet doubtful of the reception he ſhould find from his father, he came with heſitation to lay the enemy's ſpoils at his feet, and with a modeſt air inſinuated, that what he did was entirely from a ſpirit of hereditary virtue. But he was ſoon dreadfully made ſenſible of his error, when his father turning away, ordered him to be led publicly forth before the army. There, being brought forward, the conſul, with a ſtern countenance, and yet with tears, ſpoke as follows: "Titus Manlius, as thou haſt re-"garded neither the dignity of the conſulſhip, nor the "commands of thy father, as thou haſt deſtroyed mi-"litary diſcipline, and ſet a pattern of diſobedience by "thy example, thou haſt reduced me to that deplora-"ble extremity of ſacrificing my ſon or my country. "But let us not heſitate in this dreadful alternative: a "thouſand lives were well loſt in ſuch a cauſe; nor do "I think that thou thyſelf wilt refuſe to die, when "thy country is to reap the advantage of thy ſuffer-"ings. Go, lictor, bind him, and let his death be "our future example." The whole army was ſtruck with horror at this unnatural mandate; fear for a while kept them in ſuſpence; but when they ſaw their young champion's head ſtruck off, and his blood ſtreaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations and their groans. His dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military diſtreſs.

In the mean time the battle joined with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the ſame leaders, they combatted with all the animoſity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily ſtrength; the Romans on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces ſo nearly matched ſeemed only to require the protection of their deities to turn the ſcale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army ſhould be diſtreſt, the commander of that part ſhould devote himſelf for his country, and die as a ſacrifice to the immortal

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gods, Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius led on the left. Both sides fought for some time with doubtful success, as their courage was equal; but, after a time, the left wing of the Roman army began to give ground. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life as an atonement to save his army. Thus determined, he called out to Manlius with a loud voice, and demanded his instructions, as he was the chief pontiff, how to devote himself, and the form of the words he should use. By his directions therefore, being cloathed in a long robe, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods for the safety of Rome. Then arming himself, and mounting on horseback, he drove furiously into the midst of his enemies, carrying terror and consternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time the Roman army considered his devoting himself in this manner as an assurance of success; nor was the superstition of the Latins less powerfully influenced by his resolution; a total rout began to ensue; the Romans pressed them on every side; and so great was the carnage, that scarce a fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat. This was the last battle of any consequence that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to beg a peace upon hard conditions; and two years after, their strongest city Pædum being taken, they were brought under an entire submission to the Roman power.

U. C. 431. A signal disgrace which the Romans sustained about this time in their contests with the Samnites, made a pause in their usual good fortune, and turned the scale for a while in the enemies favour. The senate having denied the Samnites peace, Pontius their general was resolved to gain by stratagem what he had frequently lost by force. Accordingly, leading his army into a defile called Claudium, and taking possession of all its outlets, he sent ten of his soldiers, habited like shepherds, with directions

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to throw themſelves in the way the Romans were to march. Exactly to his wiſhes the Roman conſul met them, and, taking them for what they appeared, demanded the route the Samnite army had taken: they, with ſeeming indifference replied, that they were gone to Luceria, a town in Apulia, and were then actually beſieging it. The Roman general, not ſuſpecting the ſtratagem that was laid againſt him, marched directly by the ſhorteſt road, which lay through the defiles, to relieve the city, and was not undeceived, till he ſaw his army ſurrounded and blocked up on every ſide. Pontius, thus having the Romans entirely in his power, firſt obliged the army to paſs under the yoke, having been previouſly ſtript of all but their garments; he then ſtipulated that they ſhould wholly quit the territories of the Samnites, and that they ſhould continue to live upon terms of former confederacy. The Romans were conſtrained to ſubmit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua diſarmed, half naked, and burning with a deſire of retrieving their loſt honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was moſt ſurpriſingly afflicted at their ſhameful return; nothing but grief and reſentment was to be ſeen, and the whole city was put into mourning.

But this was a tranſitory calamity; the ſtate had ſuffered a diminution of its glory, but not of its power. The war was carried on as uſual for many years: the power of the Samnites declining every day, while that of the Romans gathered freſh confidence from every victory. Under the conduct of Papyrius Curſor, who was at different times conſul and dictator, repeated triumphs were gained. Fabius Maximus alſo had his ſhare in the glory of conquering them; and Decius, the ſon of that Decius whom we ſaw devoting himſelf for his country, about forty years before, followed the example of his noble father, and, ruſhing into the midſt of the enemy, ſaved the lives of his countrymen with the loſs of his own.

The Samnites being thus driven to the moſt extreme diſtreſs, as they were unable to defend themſelves, they were obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of a foreign

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power, and have recourſe to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to ſave them from impending ruin. Pyrrhus, a king of great courage, ambition, and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predeceſſor, before his eyes, promiſed to come to their aſſiſtance; and in the mean time diſpatched over a body of three thouſand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced ſoldier, and a ſcholar of the great orator Demoſthenes. Nor did he himſelf remain long behind, but ſoon after put to ſea with three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. However, only a ſmall part of theſe great preparations arrived in Italy with him, for many of his ſhips were diſperſed, and ſome were totally loſt in a tempeſt. Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his firſt care was to reform the people he came to ſuccour; for obſerving a total diſſolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleaſures of bathing, feaſting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment ſhut up, and that they ſhould be reſtrained in all ſuch amuſements as rendered ſoldiers unfit for battle. In the mean time, the Romans did all that prudence could ſuggeſt to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy; and the conſul Lævinus was ſent with a numerous army to interrupt his progreſs. Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, drew out to meet him; but previouſly ſent an ambaſſador, deſiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus returned for anſwer, that he neither eſteemed him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambaſſador through the Roman camp, deſired him to obſerve diligently what he ſaw, and to report the reſult to his maſter. In conſequence of this, both armies approaching pitched their tents in ſight of each other upon the oppoſite banks of the river Lyris. Pyrrhus was always extremely careful in directing the ſituation of his own camp, and in obſerving that of the enemy. It was there, that walk-

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ing along the banks of the river, and ſurveying the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to obſerve. "That theſe barbarians ſeemed to be no way barbarous, and he ſhould too ſoon find their actions equal "to their reſolution." In the mean time, ordering a body of men along the banks of the river, he placed them in readineſs to oppoſe the Romans, in caſe they ſhould attempt to ford it before his whole army was brought together. Things turned out according to his expectations; the conſul, with an impetuoſity that marked his inexperience, gave orders for paſſing the river where it was fordable; and the advanced guard, having attempted to oppoſe him in vain, was obliged to retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhus being appriſed of the enemies attempt, at firſt hoped to cut off their cavalry before they could be reinforced by the foot that were not as yet got over, and led on in perſon a choſen body of horſe againſt them. The Roman legions having with much difficulty advanced acroſs the river, the engagement became general; the Greeks fought with a conſciouſneſs of their former fame, and the Romans with a deſire of gaining freſh glory. Mankind had never before ſeen two ſuch differently diſciplined armies oppoſed to each other, nor is it to this day determined whether the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion were preferable. The combat was long in ſuſpence; the Romans had ſeven times repulſed the enemy, and were as often driven back themſelves, but at length, while the ſucceſs ſeemed doubtful, Pyrrhus ſent his elephants into the midſt of the engagement, and theſe turned the ſcale of victory in his favour. The Romans who had never before ſeen creatures of ſuch magnitude, were terrified not only with their intrepid fierceneſs, but the caſtles that were built upon their backs, filled with armed men. It was then that Pyrrhus ſaw the day was his own: and ſending in his Theſſalian cavalry to charge the enemy in diſorder, the rout became general. A dreadful ſlaughter of the Romans enſued, fifteen thouſand men being killed on the ſpot, and eighteen hundred taken priſoners. Nor were the conquerors in a much better ſtate

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than the vanquiſhed, Pyrrhus himſelf being wounded, and thirteen thouſand of his forces ſlain. Night coming on, put an end to the ſlaughter on both ſides, and Pyrrhus was heard to cry out, "That one ſuch victo-" ry more would ruin his whole army." The next day as he walked to view the field of battle, he could not help regarding with admiration the bodies of the Romans which were ſlain: upon ſeeing them all with their wounds before, their countenances, even in death, marked with noble reſolution, and a ſternneſs that awed him into reſpect, he was heard to cry out, in the true ſpirit of a military adventurer, "O with what "eaſe could I conquer the world, had I the Romans "for ſoldiers, or had they me for their king."

Pyrrhus, after this victory, was ſtill unwilling to drive them to an extremity, and conſidered that it was beſt treating with an humbled enemy; he reſolved therefore to ſend his friend Cineas, the orator, to negociate a peace; of whom he often aſſerted, that he had won more towns by the eloquence of Cineas, than by his own arms. Cineas, with all his art, found the Romans incapable of being ſeduced, either by bribery, private or public perſuaſion.

Being fruſtrated, therefore, in his expectations, he returned to his maſter, extolling both the virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. The ſenate, he ſaid, appeared a reverend aſſembly of demigods, and the city a temple for their reception. Of this Pyrrhus ſoon after became ſenſible by an embaſſy from Rome concerning the ranſom and exchange of priſoners. At the head of this venerable deputation was Fabricius, an ancient ſenator, who had long been a pattern to his countrymen, of the moſt extreme poverty, joined to the moſt chearful content. Pyrrhus received this celebrated old man with great kindneſs; and willing to try how far fame had been juſt in his favour, offered him rich preſents, which, however, the Roman refuſed.—The day after, he was deſirous of examing the equality of his temper, and ordered one of his elephants to be placed behind the tapeſtry; which, upon a ſignal given, raiſed its trunk above the ambaſſador's head, at

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the ſame time uſing other arts to intimidate him. But Fabricius, with a countenance no way changing, ſmiled upon the king, obſerving, that he looked with an equal eye on the terrors of the day as he had upon the allurements of the preceding. Pyrrhus, pleaſed to find ſo much virtue in one he had conſidered as a barbarian, was willing to grant him the only favour which he knew could make him happy: he releaſed the Roman priſoners, entruſting them to Fabricius alone, upon his promiſe, that in caſe the ſenate were determined to continue the war he might reclaim them whenever he thought proper.

U. C. 473. By this time the Roman army was recovered from its late defeat, and Sulpicius and Decius, the conſuls for the following year, were placed at its head. The panic which had formerly ſeized it from the elephants now began to wear off, and both armies met near the city of Aſculum, both pretty nearly equal in numbers, being about forty thouſand ſtrong; and here again, after a long and obſtinate fight the Grecian diſcipline prevailed. The Romans, being preſſed on every ſide, particularly by the elephants, were obliged to retire to their camp, leaving ſix thouſand men dead upon the field of battle. But the enemy had no great reaſon to boaſt of their triumph, as they had four thouſand ſlain; ſo that Pyrrhus replied to one of his ſoldiers, who was congratulating him upon his victory, "One ſuch triumph more, "and I ſhall be undone."

This battle finiſhed the campaign; the next ſeaſon began with equal vigour on both ſides, Pyrrhus having received new ſuccours from home. While the two armies were approaching, and yet but at a ſmall diſtance from each other, a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's phyſician, importing, that for a proper reward, he would take him off by poiſon, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy, and a dangerous war. Fabricius felt all the honeſt indignation at this baſe propoſal that was conſiſtent with his former character; he communicated it to his colleague, and inſtantly gave it as his opinion

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that Pyrrhus ſhould be informed of the treachery that was plotted againſt him. Accordingly letters were diſpatched for that purpoſe, informing Pyrrhus of the affair, and alledging the unfortunate choice of his friends and enemies. That he had truſted and promoted murderers, while he carried his reſentment againſt the generous and the brave. Pyrrhus now began to find that theſe bold barbarians were by degrees ſchooled into refinement, and would not ſuffer him to be their ſuperior even in generoſity: he received the meſſage with as much amazement at their candour as indignation at his phyſician's treachery. "Admirable Fabricius!" cried he, "it would be as eaſy to turn the "ſun from its courſe, as thee from the paths of ho-"nour." Then making the proper inquiry among his ſervants, and having diſcovered the treaſon, he ordered his phyſician to be executed. However, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he immediately ſent to Rome all his priſoners without ranſom, and again deſired to negociate a peace. The Romans, on the other hand, refuſed him peace, but upon the ſame conditions they had offered before.

So that, after an interval of two years, Pyrrhus, having increaſed his army by new levies, ſent one part of his army to oppoſe the march of Lentulus, the Roman conſul, while he himſelf went to attack Curius Dentatus, the other in command, before his colleague could come up. His principal aim was to ſurpriſe the enemy by night; but unfortunately paſſing through woods, and his lights failing him, his men loſt their way, ſo that at the approach of morning, he ſaw himſelf in ſight of the Roman camp, with the enemy drawn out ready to receive him. The vanguard of both armies ſoon met, in which the Romans had the advantage. Soon after, a general engagement enſuing, Pyrrhus, finding the balance of the victory turning ſtill againſt him, had once more recourſe to his elephants. Theſe, however, the Romans were then too well acquainted with, to feel any vain terrors from; and having found that fire was the moſt effectual means to repel them, they cauſed a number of balls to be made,

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compoſed of flax and roſin, which were thrown againſt them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly oppoſed by the ſoldiers, could no longer be brought on, but ran back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and filling all places with terror and confuſion. Thus victory at length declared in favour of Rome: Pyrrhus in vain attempted to ſtop the flight and ſlaughter of his troops; he loſt not only twenty-three thouſand of his beſt ſoldiers, but his camp was alſo taken. This ſerved as a new leſſon to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement: they had formerly pitched their tents without order; but by this new capture they were taught to meaſure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; ſo that many of their ſucceeding victories are to be aſcribed to their improved method of encamping.

Pyrrhus thus finding all hopes fruitleſs, he reſolved to leave Italy, where he found only deſperate enemies and faithleſs allies; accordingly, calling together the Tarentines, he informed them that he had received aſſurances from Greece of ſpeedy aſſiſtance, and deſiring them to wait the event with tranquility, the night following embarked his troops, and returned undiſturbed into his native kingdom with the remains of his ſhattered forces, leaving a garriſon in Tarentum merely to ſave appearances, and in this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus after ſix years continuance.

As for the poor luxurious Tarentines, who were the original promoters of this war, they ſoon began to find a worſe enemy in the garriſon that was left for their defence, than in the Romans who attacked them from without. The hatred between them and Milo, who commanded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was become ſo great, that nothing but the fear of their old inveterate enemies the Romans could equal it. In this diſtreſs they applied to the Carthaginians, who with a large fleet came and blocked up the port of Tarentum; ſo that this unfortunate people, once famous through Italy for their refinements and pleaſures, now ſaw themſelves contended for by three different armies, without

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the choice of a conqueror. At length, however, the Romans found means to bring over the garrison to their interest; after which they easily became masters of the city, and demolished its walls, granting the inhabitants liberty and protection.

CHAP. XIV.

From the beginning of the first Punic War, to the beginning of the second, when the Romans began to grow powerful by sea.

[U. C. 489.]

THE Romans having destroyed all rival pretensions at home, began to pant after foreign conquests.—The Carthaginians were at that time in possession of the greatest part of Sicily, and, like the Romans, only wanted an opportunity of embroiling the natives, in order to become masters of the whole island. This opportunity at length offered. Hiero, king of Syracuse, one of the states of that island, which was as yet unconquered, entreated their aid against the Mamertines, a little people of the same country, and they sent him supplies both by sea and land. The Mamertines, on the other hand, to shield off impending ruin, put themselves under the protection of Rome. The Romans, not thinking the Mamertines worthy of the name of allies, instead of professing to assist them, boldly declared war against Carthage; alledging as a reason the assistance which Carthage had lately sent to the southern parts of Italy against the Romans. In this manner a war was declared between these two powerful states, both grown too great to continue patient spectators of each others increase.

Carthage, a colony of the Phœnicians, was built on the coast of Africa, near the place where Tunis now stands, about an hundred and thirty seven years before the foundation of Rome. As it had been long growing into power, so it had extended its dominions all

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along the coasts. But its chief strength lay in its fleets and commerce: thus circumstanced, these two great powers began what is called the first Punic war. The Carthaginians, possessed of gold and silver, which might be exhausted; the Romans famous for perseverance, patriotism and poverty, which seemed to gather strength by every defeat.

But there seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle to the ambitious views of Rome, as they had no fleet, or at least what deserved that title; while the Carthaginians had the entire command at sea, and kept all the maritime towns under obedience. In such a situation any people but the Romans would have rested contented under disadvantages which nature seemed to have imposed; but nothing could conquer or intimidate them. They began to apply themselves to maritime affairs; and, though without shipwrights to build, or seamen to navigate a fleet, they resolved to surmount every obstacle with inflexible perseverance. A Carthaginian vessel happened to be in a storm driven ashore; and this was sufficient to serve as a model.—The consul Duillius was the first who ventured to sea with his new constructed armament; and, though far inferior to the enemy in the management of his fleet, yet he gained the first naval victory, the Carthaginians losing fifty of their ships, and the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they valued more.

But the conquest of Sicily was only to be obtained by humbling the power of Carthage at home. For this reason the senate resolved to carry the war into Africa itself, and accordingly they sent Regulus and Manlius with a fleet of three hundred sail to make the invasion. Regulus was reckoned the most consummate warrior that Rome could then produce, and a professed example of frugal severity. His patriotism was still greater than his temperance; all the private passions seemed extinguished in him, or they were all swallowed up in one great ruling affection, the love of his country. The two generals set sail with their fleet, which was the greatest that had ever left an Italian port, carrying an hundred and forty thousand men.—

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They were met by the Carthaginians, with a fleet as powerful and men better uſed to the ſea. While the fight continued rather between the ſhips than the men at a diſtance, the Carthaginians ſeemed ſucceſsful; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the difference between a mercenary army, and one that fought for fame was apparent. The reſolution of the Romans was crowned with ſucceſs; the enemy's fleet were diſperſed, and fifty-four of their veſſels taken. The conſequence of this victory was an immediate deſcent upon the coaſt of Africa, and the capture of the city Clupea, together with twenty thouſand men who were made priſoners of war.

The ſenate being informed of theſe great ſucceſſes, and applied to for freſh inſtructions, commanded Manlius back to Italy, in order to ſuperintend the Sicilian war; and directed that Regulus ſhould continue in Africa to proſecute his victories there.

A battle enſued, in which Carthage was once more defeated, and ſome of its beſt troops were cut off.—This freſh victory contributed to throw them into the utmoſt deſpair; more than eighty of their towns ſubmitted to the Romans. In this diſtreſs the Carthaginians, deſtitute of generals at home, were obliged to ſend to Lacedemon, offering the command of their armies to Xantippus, a general of great experience, who undertook to conduct them.

This general began by giving the magiſtrates proper inſtructions for levying their men: he aſſured them that their armies were hitherto overthrown, not by the ſtrength of the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own generals; he therefore only required a ready obedience to his orders, and aſſured them of an eaſy victory. The whole city ſeemed once more revived from deſpondency, by the exhortations of a ſingle ſtranger; and ſoon from hope grew into confidence. This was the ſpirit the Grecian general wiſhed to excite in them; ſo that when he ſaw them thus ripe for the engagement, he joyfully took the field. The Lacedemonian made the moſt ſkilful diſpoſition of his forces; he placed his cavalry in the wings; he diſpoſed the ele-

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phants at proper intervals behind the line of the heavy armed infantry; and, bringing up the light-armed troops before, he ordered them to retire through the line of infantry after they had discharged their weapons. At length both armies engaging, after a long and obstinate resistance, the Romans were overthrown with dreadful slaughter; the greatest part of their army being destroyed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner. Several other distresses of the Romans followed soon after this. They lost their fleet in a storm; and Agrigentum, their principal town in Sicily, was taken by Karthalo, the Carthaginian general. They undertook to build a new fleet, which also shared the fate of the former, the mariners, as yet unacquainted with the Mediterranean shores, drove it upon quicksands; and soon after the greatest part perished in a storm.

Meantime, the Carthaginians being thus successful, were desirous of a new treaty for peace, hoping to have better terms than those insisted upon by Regulus. For this purpose, they supposed that he, whom they had now for four years kept in a dungeon, confined and chained, would be a proper solicitor. It was expected that, being wearied with imprisonment and bondage, he would gladly endeavour to persuade his countrymen to a discontinuance of a war, which only prolonged his captivity. He was accordingly sent with their ambassadors to Rome, but with a promise, previously exacted from him, to return in case of being unsuccessful. He was even given to understand that his life depended upon the success of his negociation.

When this old general, together with the ambassadors of Carthage, approached Rome, numbers of his friends came out to meet and congratulate his return. Their acclamations resounded through the city; but Regulus refused, with settled melancholy, to enter the gates. It was in vain that he was entreated on every side to visit once more his little dwelling, and share in that joy which his return had inspired. He persisted in saying, that he was now but a slave belonging to the Carthaginians, and unfit to partake in the liberal honours of his country. The senate assembling without

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the walls, as usual, to give audience to the ambassadors, Regulus opened his commission, as he had been directed by the Carthaginian council, and their ambassadors seconded his proposals. The senate were, by this time, themselves weary of a war which had been protracted above eight years, and were no way disinclinable to a peace. It only remained for Regulus himself to give his opinion, who, when it came to his turn to speak, to the surprise of all the world, gave his voice for continuing the war. So unexpected an advice not a little disturbed the senate: they pitied as well as admired a man who had used such eloquence against his private interest, and could not conclude upon a measure which was to terminate in his ruin. But he soon relieved their embarrassment by breaking off the treaty, and by rising in order to return to his bonds and confinement. It was in vain that the senate and all his dearest friends entreated his stay; he still repressed their solicitations. Marcia, his wife, with her little children, filled the city with their lamentations, and vainly entreated to be permitted to see him; he still obstinately persisted in keeping his promise; and, though sufficiently apprized of the tortures that awaited his return, without embracing his family or taking leave of his friends, he departed with the ambassadors for Carthage.

Nothing could equal the fury and the disappointment of the Carthaginians, when they were informed by their ambassadors that Regulus, instead of hastening a peace, had given his opinion for continuing the war. They accordingly prepared to punish his conduct with the most studied tortures. First his eye-lids were cut off, and then he was remanded to prison. He was, after some days, again brought out, and exposed with his face opposite the burning sun. At last, when malice was fatigued with studying all the arts of torture, he was put into a barrel stuck full of nails, that pointed inwards; and in this painful condition he continued till he died.

Both sides now took up arms with more than former animosity. At length the Roman perseverance was crowned with success, one victory followed on the back of another. Fabius Buteo, the consul, once more shew-

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ed them the way to naval victory, by defeating a large squadron of the enemy's ships; but Lutatius Catulus gained a victory still more complete, in which the power of Carthage seemed totally destroyed at sea, by the loss of an hundred and twenty ships, according to the smallest computation. This loss brought the Carthaginians to sue for peace, which Rome thought proper to grant; but still inflexible in its demands, exacted the same conditions which Regulus had formerly offered at the gates of Carthage. These were, that they should lay down a thousand talents of silver to defray the charge of the war, and should pay two thousand two hundred more in ten years time: that they should quit Sicily, with all such islands as they possessed near it: that they should never make war against the allies of Rome, or come with any vessels of war within the Roman dominions; and lastly, that all their prisoners and deserters should be delivered up without ransom. To these hard conditions the Carthaginians, now exhausted, readily subscribed; and thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted twenty-four years, and in some measure had drained both nations of every resource to begin another.

U. C. 513.

CHAP. XV.

From the end of the first Punic War, to the end of the second.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and the Romans, a profound peace ensued, and in about six years after, the temple of Janus was shut for the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans, being thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of turning to the arts of peace: they now began to have a relish for poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilized nation, and the first also that decays. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of their lowest buffoons: they had sports called Fescennini, in which a few debauched

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actors made their own parts, while raillery and smut supplied the place of humour. To these a composition of a higher kind succeeded, which they called satire, which was a kind of dramatic poem, in which the characters of the great were particularly pointed out, and made an object of derision to the vulgar. After these came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greek; and, indeed, the first dramatic poet of Rome, whose name was Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Grecian. The instant these finer kinds of composition appeared, this great people rejected their former impurities with disdain.—From thence forward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and though they were never able to rival their masters in dramatic composition, they soon surpassed them in many of the more soothing kinds of poetry. Elegiac, pastoral, and didactic compositions, began to assume new beauties in the Roman language; and satire, not that rude kind of dialogue already mentioned, but a nobler sort invented by Lucilius, was all their own. U. C. 514.

While they were thus admitting the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of making fresh preparations for war: all intervals of ease seemed rather to give fresh vigour for new designs, than to relax their former intrepidity. The Illyrians were the first people upon whom they tried their strength, after some continuance of peace. That nation, which had long plundered the merchants of the Mediterranean with impunity, happened to make depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome: this being complained of to Teuta, the queen of the country, she, instead of granting redress, ordered the ambassador that was sent to demand restitution to be murdered. A war ensued, in which the Romans were victorious: most of the Illyric towns were surrendered to the consuls, and a peace at last concluded, by which the greatest part of the country was ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was exacted for the rest, and a prohibition added, that the Illyrians should not sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and those unarmed. 527

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The Gauls were the next people that incurred the diſpleaſure of the Romans. Suppoſing a time of peace, when the armies were diſbanded, a proper ſeaſon for new irruptions, this barbarous people invited freſh forces from beyond the Alps, and, entering Etruria, waſted all with fire and ſword, till they came within about three days journey of Rome. A prætor and a conſul were ſent to oppoſe them, who, now inſtructed in the improved arts of war, were enabled to ſurround the Gauls, who ſtill retained their primæval barbarity. It was in vain that thoſe hardy troops, who had nothing but their courage to protect them, formed two fronts to oppoſe their adverſaries; their naked bodies and undiſciplined forces were unable to withſtand the ſhock of an enemy completely armed, and ſkilled in military evolutions. A miſerable ſlaughter enſued, in which forty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. This victory was followed by another gained over them by Marcellus, in which he killed Viridomarus, their king, with his own hand, and gained the third royal ſpoils that were yet obained at Rome. Theſe conqueſts forced them to beg a peace, the conditions of which ſerved greatly to enrich the empire. Thus the Romans went on with ſucceſs; they had now totally recovered their former loſſes, and only wanted an enemy worthy of their arms to begin a new war.

The Carthaginians had only made a peace becauſe they were no longer able to continue the war. They therefore took the earlieſt opportunity of breaking the treaty: they beſieged Saguntum, a city of Spain, which had been in alliance with Rome; and, though deſired to deſiſt, proſecuted their operations with vigor. Ambaſſadors were ſent in conſequence from Rome to Carthage, complaining of the infraction of their articles, and requiring that Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had adviſed this meaſure, ſhould be delivered up; which being refuſed, both ſides prepared for a ſecond Punic war.

The Carthaginians truſted the management of it on their ſide to Hannibal, the ſon of Hamilcar. This extraordinary man had been made the ſworn foe of Rome

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almoſt from his infancy; for, while yet very young, his father brought him before the altar, and obliged him to take an oath, that he never would be in friendſhip with the Romans, nor deſiſt from oppoſing their power, until he or they ſhould be no more. On his firſt appearance in the field, he reconciled, in his own perſon, the moſt juſt method of commanding with the moſt perfect obedience to his ſuperiors. Thus he was equally beloved by his generals and the troops he was appointed to lead. He was poſſeſſed of the greateſt courage in oppoſing danger, and the greateſt preſence of mind in retiring from it. No fatigue was able to ſubdue his body, nor any misfortune to break his ſpirit: equally patient of heat and cold, he only took ſuſtenance to content nature, and not to delight his appetite. He was the beſt horſeman, and the ſwifteſt runner of his time. This great general, who is conſidered as the moſt ſkilful of antiquity, having over-run all Spain, and levied a large army of various languages and nations reſolved to carry the war into Italy itſelf, as the Romans had before carried it into the dominions of Carthage. For this purpoſe, leaving Hanno with a ſufficient force to guard his conqueſts in Spain, he croſſed the Pyrenean mountains into Gaul, with an army of fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe. He quickly traverſed that country, which was then wild and extenſive, and filled with nations that were his declared enemies. In vain its foreſts and rivers appeared to intimidate him; in vain the Rhone, with its rapid currents, and its banks covered with enemies, or the Dura branched out into numberleſs channels, oppoſed his way; he paſſed them all with perſeverance, and in ten days arrived at the foot of the Alps, over which he was to explore a new paſſage into Italy. It was in the midſt of winter when this aſtoniſhing project was undertaken. The ſeaſon added new horrors to a ſcene that nature had already crowned with objects of diſmay. The prodigious height, and tremendous ſteepneſs of the mountains, capped with ſnow, the people barbarous and fierce, dreſſed in ſkins, with long and ſhaggy hair, preſented a picture that impreſſed the

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beholders with aſtoniſhment and terror. But nothing was capable of ſubduing the courage of the Carthaginian general; for, at the end of fifteen days, ſpent in croſſing the Alps, he found himſelf in the plains of Italy with about half his army remaining, the reſt having died of the cold, or been cut off by the natives.

As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal, at the head of an immenſe army, was croſſing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, the ſenate ſent Scipio to oppoſe him, who was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. In the mean time, Hannibal, being thus victorious, took the moſt prudent precautions to increaſe his army, giving orders always to ſpare the poſſeſſions of the Gauls, while his depredations were permitted upon thoſe of Rome; and this ſo pleaſed that ſimple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocked to his ſtandard with alacrity.

The ſecond battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. The Carthaginian general being appriſed of the Roman impetuoſity, of which he always availed himſelf in almoſt every engagement, had ſent off a body of a thouſand horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind, acroſs the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force, who, ſeeming to be defeated, took the river, and were as eagerly purſued by Sempronius, the conſul. It was not, however, till his army was got upon the oppoſite bank, that he perceived himſelf half conquered already, his men being fatigued with wading up to their arm-pits, and quite benumbed by the intenſe coldneſs of the water. A total rout enſued; twenty-ſix thouſand of the Romans were either killed by the enemy, or drowned in attempting to repaſs the river. A body of ten thouſand men were all that ſurvived; who, finding themſelves incloſed on every ſide, broke deſperately through the enemy's ranks, and fought retreating, till they found ſhelter in the city of Placentia.

The third defeat the Romans ſuſtained was at the lake of Thraſmene; near to which was a chain of moun-

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tains, and, between these and the lake, a narrow passage leading to a valley that was embosomed in hills. It was upon these hills that Hannibal disposed his best troops, and it was into this valley that Flaminius, the Roman general, led his men to attack him. A disposition every way so favourable for the Carthaginians was also assisted by accident; for a mist rising from the lake, kept the Romans from seeing their enemies; while the army upon the mountains, being above its influence, saw the whole disposition of their opponents. The fortune of the day was such as might be expected from the conduct of the two generals; the Roman army was broken and slaughtered, almost before they could perceive the enemy that destroyed them. About fifteen thousand Romans, together with Flaminius himself, fell in the valley, and six thousand more were obliged to yield themselves prisoners of war.

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after the general consternation was allayed, the senate, upon mature deliberation, resolved to elect a commander with absolute authority, in whom they might repose their last and greatest expectations. Their choice fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, but with a happy mixture of caution. He was apprised that the only way to humble the Carthaginians at such a distance from home was rather by harrassing them than by fighting. For this purpose he always encamped upon the highest grounds, inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they moved he moved, watched their motions, straitened their quarters, and cut off their provisions.

By these arts, Fabius had actually at one time enclosed Hannibal among mountains, where it was impossible to winter, and yet from which it was almost impracticable to extricate his army without imminent danger. In this exigence nothing but one of those stratagems of war, which fall to the lot of great abilities only to invent, could save him: he ordered a number of small faggots and lighted torches to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen that he had in his camp, and that they should be driven towards the ene-

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my. Theſe toſſing their heads, and running up the ſides of the mountains, ſeemed to fill the whole neighbouring foreſt with fire; while the centinels that were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain ſeeing ſuch a number of flames advancing towards their poſts, fled in conſternation, ſuppoſing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this ſtratagem Hannibal drew off his army, and eſcaped through the defiles that lead beneath the hills, though with conſiderable damage to his rear.

Soon after, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, his time being expired, and Terentius Varro was choſen by the majority to ſucceed to the command.—This Terentius Varro was a man ſprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a diſpoſition entirely oppoſite: experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impreſſed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his Plebeian colleague.

The Romans, finding themſelves enabled to bring a competent force into the field, being almoſt ninety thouſand ſtrong, now again reſolved to meet Hannibal, who was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a wind that for a certain ſeaſon blows ſtill one way in his rear, which raiſing great clouds of duſt from the parched plains behind, he knew muſt greatly diſtreſs an approaching enemy. In this ſituation he waited the coming up of the Romans with an army of forty thouſand foot, and half that number of cavalry. The two conſuls ſoon appeared to his wiſh, dividing their forces into two parts, and agreeing to take the command every day by turns. On the firſt day of their arrival, it falling to the lot of Æmilius to command, he was entirely averſe to engaging. The next day, however, it being come to Varro's turn to command, he, without aſking his colleague's concurrence, gave the ſignal for battle; and paſſing the river Aufidus that lay between both armies, put his forces in array. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horſe engaged ſoon after; and the

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Roman cavalry being unable to ſtand againſt thoſe of Numidia, the legions came up to reinforce them. It was then that the conflict became general: the Roman ſoldiers for a long time endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Hannibal obſerving, ordered part of thoſe troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to emboſom themſelves within a choſen body of his Africans, whom he had placed on their wing, ſo as to ſurround them; upon that a terrible ſlaughter began to enſue of the Romans, fatigued with repeated attacks from the Africans, who were freſh and vigorous. At laſt the rout became general in every part of the Roman army; the boaſtings of Varro were now no longer heard; while Æmilius, who had been terribly wounded by a ſlinger in the very beginning of the engagement, ſtill feebly led on his body of horſe, and did all that could be done to make head againſt the enemy; however, being unable to ſit on horſeback, he was forced to diſmount. It was in this deplorable condition of things, that one Lentulus, a tribune of the army, as he was flying on horſeback from the enemy, which at ſome diſtance purſued him, met Æmilius ſitting upon a ſtone, covered over with blood and wounds, and waiting for the coming up of the purſuers. "Æmilius," cried the generous tribune, "you "at leaſt are guiltleſs of this day's ſlaughter: take "my horſe and fly." "I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying conſul, "all is over, my part is choſen: go, "I command thee, and tell the ſenate from me to for-"tify Rome againſt the approach of the conqueror.— "Tell Fabius alſo, that Æmilius, while living, ever "remembered his advice, and now, dying, approves "it." While he was yet ſpeaking the enemy approached; and Lentulus, before he was out of view, ſaw the conſul expire, feebly fighting in the midſt of hundreds. In this battle the Romans loſt fifty thouſand men, and ſo many knights, that it is ſaid Hannibal ſent three buſhels of gold rings to Carthage, which thoſe of this order had worn on their fingers.

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When the first consternation was abated after this dreadful blow at Rome, the senate came to a general resolution to create a dictator, in order to give strength to their government. A short time after, Varro arrived, having left behind him the wretched remains of his army; and, as he had been the principal cause of the late calamity, it was natural to suppose that the senate would severely reprimand the rashness of his conduct. But far otherwise! The Romans went out in multitudes to meet him; and the senate returned him thanks that he had not despaired of the safety of Rome. Fabius, who was considered as the shield of Rome, and Marcellus as the sword, were appointed to lead the armies; and though Hannibal once more offered them peace, they refused it, but upon condition that he should quit Italy.—Terms similar to those they had formerly insisted upon from Pyrrhus.

In the mean time, Hannibal, either finding the impossibility of marching directly to Rome, or willing to give his forces rest after such a mighty victory, led them to Capua, where he resolved to winter. This city had long been considered as the nurse of luxury, and the corrupter of all military virtue; here, therefore, a new scene of pleasure opened to his barbarian troops; and they at once gave themselves up to the intoxication, till, from being hardy veterans, they became infirm rioters.

Hitherto we have found this great man successful; but now we are to reverse the picture, and survey him struggling with accumulated misfortunes, and at last sinking beneath them.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, where Marcellus the prætor made a successful sally. He some time after attempted to raise the siege of Capua, and attacked the Romans in their trenches, but he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then made a feint of going to besiege Rome; but finding a superior army ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire. For some years after, he fought with various success; Marcellus, his opponent, sometimes gaining, and sometimes losing the advantage, but coming to no decisive engagement.

U. C. 544.

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The ſenate of Carthage at length came to a reſolution of ſending his brother Aſdrubal to his aſſiſtance, with a body of forces drawn out of Spain. Aſdrubal's march being made known to the conſuls Livius and Nero, they went againſt him with great expedition, and ſurrounding him in a place, into which he was led by the treachery of his guides, they cut his whole army to pieces. Hannibal had long expected theſe ſuccours with impatience; and the very night on which he had been aſſured of his brother's arrival, Nero ordered Aſdrubal's head to be cut off, and thrown into his brother's camp. The Carthaginian general now therefore began to perceive the approaches of the downfall of Carthage, and could not help, with a ſigh, obſerving to thoſe about him, that fortune ſeemed fatigued with granting her favours.

In the mean time, fortune ſeemed to favour the Roman arms in other parts; Marcellus took the city of Syracuſe in Sicily, which was defended by the machines and the fires of Archimides the mathematician.

The inhabitants were put to the ſword, and among the reſt Archimides himſelf, who was found meditating in his ſtudy by a Roman ſoldier. Marcellus, the general, was not a little grieved at his death. A paſſion for letters at that time began to prevail among the higher ranks of people at Rome. He therefore ordered his body to be honourably buried, and a tomb to be erected to his memory, which his own works have long ſurvived.

As to their fortunes in Spain, though for a while they appeared doubtful, two of the Scipios being ſlain, and Claudius Nero, the governor of the province appearing much an undermatch for the cunning of the Carthaginian general, yet they ſoon recovered their complexion under the conduct of Scipio Africanus, who ſued for the office of pro-conſul to that kingdom, at a time when every one elſe was willing to decline it. Scipio, who was now but twenty-four years old, had all the qualifications requiſite for forming a great general and a good man; he united the greateſt courage with the greateſt tenderneſs; ſuperior to Hanni-

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bal in the arts of peace, and almoſt his equal in thoſe of war. His father had been killed in Spain, ſo that he ſeemed to have an hereditary claim to attack that country. He therefore appeared irreſiſtible, obtaining many great victories, yet ſubduing ſtill more by his generoſity, mildneſs, and benevolent diſpoſition, than by the force of his arms.

It was ſhortly after that he returned with an army from the conqueſt of Spain, and was made conſul at the age of twenty-nine. It was at firſt ſuppoſed he intended meeting Hannibal in Italy, and that he would attempt driving him from thence; but he had already formed a wiſer plan, which was to carry the war into Africa, and, while the Carthaginians kept an army near Rome, to make them tremble for their own capital.

Scipio was not long in Africa without employment; for in a ſhort time Hanno oppoſed him, but he was defeated and ſlain. Syphax, the uſurper of Numidia, led up a large army againſt him. The Roman general for a time declined fighting, till, finding an opportunity, he ſet fire to the enemy's tents, and attacking them in the midſt of the confuſion, killed forty thouſand men, and took ſix thouſand priſoners.

The Carthaginians now, beginning to be terrified at their repeated defeats, and the fame of Scipio's ſucceſſes, determined to recal Hannibal, their great champion, out of Italy, in order to oppoſe the Romans at home. Deputies were accordingly diſpatched, with a poſitive command for him to return and oppoſe the Roman general, who at that time threatened Carthage with a ſiege. Nothing could exceed the regret and diſappointment of Hannibal upon receiving this order. However, he obeyed the orders of his infatuated country with the ſame ſubmiſſion that the meaneſt ſoldier would have done, and took leave of Italy with tears in his eyes, after having kept poſſeſſion of the moſt beautiful parts of it for above fifteen years.

Upon his arrival at Leptis in Africa, from whence he marched to Adrumetum, he at laſt approached Zama, a city within five day's journey of Carthage. Scipio, in the mean time, led his army to meet him, join-

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ed by Maſſiniſſa with ſix thouſand horſe; and, to ſhew his rival in the field how little he feared his approach, ſent back the ſpies which were ſent to explore his camp, having previouſly ſhewn them the whole, with directions to inform Hannibal of what they had ſeen. The Carthaginian general, conſcious of his inferiority, endeavoured to diſcontinue the war by negociation, and deſired a meeting with Scipio to confer upon terms of peace, to which the Roman general aſſented. But, after a long conference, both ſides parting diſſatisfied, they returned to their camps to prepare for deciding the controverſy by the ſword. Never was a more memorable battle fought, whether we regard the generals, the armies, the two ſtates that contended, or the empire that was in diſpute. The diſpoſition Hannibal made of his men, is ſaid, by the ſkilful in the art of war, to be ſuperior to any of his former arrangements. The battle began with the elephants on the ſide of the Carthaginians, which, being terrified at the cries of the Romans, and wounded by the ſlingers and archers, turned upon their drivers, and cauſed much confuſion in both wings of their army, in which the cavalry was placed. Being thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of the horſe, in which their greateſt ſtrength conſiſted, the heavy infantry joined on both ſides; but the Romans being ſtronger of body, the Carthaginians were obliged to give ground. In the mean time Maſſiniſſa, who had been in purſuit of their cavalry, returning and attacking them in the rear, compleated their defeat. A total rout enſued, twenty thouſand men were killed in the battle or the purſuit, and as many were taken priſoners. Hannibal, who had done all that a great general and an undaunted ſoldier could perform, fled with a ſmall body of horſe to Adrumetum, fortune ſeeming to delight in confounding his ability, his valour, and experience.

This victory brought on a peace. The Carthaginians, by Hannibal's advice, offered conditions to the Romans, which they dictated not as rivals, but as ſovereigns.—By this treaty the Carthaginians were obliged to quit Spain, and all the iſlands in the Mediterranean ſea. They were bound to pay ten thouſand talents in fifty

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years; to give hoſtages for the delivery of their ſhips and their elephants; to reſtore Maſſiniſſa all the territories that had been taken from him; and not to make war in Africa but by the permiſſion of the Romans. Thus ended the ſecond Punic war, ſeventeen years after it had begun.

CHAP. XVI.

From the end of the second Punic War, to the end of the third, which terminated in the destruction of Carthage.

WHILE the Romans were engaged with Hannibal, they carried on alſo a vigorous war againſt Philip, king of Macedonia, not a little incited thereto by the prayers of the Athenians, who, from once controuling the power of Perſia, were now unable to defend themſelves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, alſo entered into the confederacy againſt Philip. He was more than once defeated by Goïba the conſul, who was ſent againſt him. He attempted to beſiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. He attempted to take poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them by Quintus Flaminius with great ſlaughter. He attempted to take refuge in Theſſaly, where he was again defeated with conſiderable loſs, and obliged to beg a peace, upon condition of paying a thouſand talents, half down, and the other half in the ſpace of ten years. The peace with Philip gave the Romans an opportunity of ſhewing their generoſity, by reſtoring liberty to Greece.

Antiochus, king of Syria, was next brought to ſubmit to the Roman arms; after ſome embaſſies on the one ſide and the other, a war was declared againſt him five years after the concluſion of the Macedonian war.

After various miſtakes and miſconduct, he attempted to obtain a peace, by offering to quit all his places in Europe, and ſuch in Aſia as profeſſed alliance to Rome. But it was now too late; Scipio, perceiving his own ſuperiority, was reſolved to avail himſelf of it. Anti-

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ochus, thus driven into reſiſtance, for ſome time retreated before the enemy, till, being preſſed hard near the city of Magneſia, he was forced to draw out his men, to the number of ſeventy thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. Scipio oppoſed him with forces as much inferior in number as they were ſuperior in courage and diſcipline. Antiochus therefore was in a ſhort time entirely defeated; his own chariots, armed with ſcythes, being driven back upon his men, contributed much to his overthrow. Being thus reduced to the laſt extremity, he was glad to procure peace of the Romans upon their own terms: which were, to pay fifteen thouſand talents towards the expences of the war, to quit all his poſſeſſions in Europe, and likewiſe all in Aſia on that ſide Mount Taurus, to give twenty hoſtages as pledges of his fidelity, and to deliver up Hannibal, the inveterate enemy of Rome.

In the mean time, Hannibal, whoſe deſtruction was one of the articles of this extorted treaty, endeavoured to avoid the threatened ruin. This conſummate general had been long a wanderer, and an exile from his ungrateful country. He had taken refuge at the court of Antiochus, who at firſt gave him a ſincere welcome, and made him admiral of his fleet, in which ſtation he ſhewed his uſual ſkill in ſtratagem. But he ſoon ſunk in the Syrian's eſteem, for having adviſed ſchemes which that monarch had neither genius to underſtand nor talents to execute. Sure, therefore, to find no ſafety or protection, he departed by ſtealth; and, after wandering for a time among petty ſtates, who had neither power nor generoſity to protect him, he took refuge at the court of Pruſias king of Bithynia. In the mean time the Romans, with a vindictive ſpirit utterly unworthy of them, ſent Æmilius, one of their moſt celebrated generals, to demand him of this king, who, fearing the reſentment of Rome, and willing to conciliate their friendſhip by this breach of hoſpitality, ordered a guard to be placed upon Hannibal, with an intent to deliver him up. The poor old general, thus implacably perſecuted from one country to another, and finding all methods of ſafety cut off, determined to die; he therefore

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desired one of his followers to bring him poison, which he had ready for this exigence; and drinking it, he expired, as he had lived, with intrepid bravery.

U. C. 583. A second Macedonian war was soon after proclaimed against Perseus, the son of Philip, whom we have already seen obliged to beg peace of the Romans. Perseus, in order to secure the crown, had contrived to murder his brother Demetrius; and, upon the death of his father, pleased with the hopes of imaginary triumphs, made war against Rome. During the course of this war, which continued about three years, many opportunities were offered him of cutting off the Roman army; but being perfectly ignorant how to take advantage of their rashness, he spent the time in empty overtures for a peace. At length Æmilius gave him a decisive overthrow near the river Enipeus. He attempted to procure safety by flying into Crete; but being abandoned by all, he was obliged to surrender himself, and to grace the splendid triumph of the Roman general.

About this time Massiniſſa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invasion.—This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans, who pretended to consider this conduct of theirs as an infraction of the treaty, sent to make a complaint. The ambassadors who were employed upon this occasion, finding the city very rich and flourishing, from the long interval of peace which it had now enjoyed for near fifty years, either from motives of avarice to possess its plunder, or from fear of its growing greatness, insisted much on the necessity of a war, which was soon after proclaimed; and the consul set out with a thorough resolution utterly to demolish Carthage.

The wretched Carthaginians, finding that the conquerors would not desist from making demands, while they had any thing left to supply, attempted to soften the victors by submission; but they received orders to leave their city, which was to be levelled with the ground. This severe command they received with all the con-

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cern and diſtreſs of deſpairing people: they implored for a reſpite from ſuch an hard ſentence: they uſed tears and lamentations: but finding the conſuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy reſolution, prepared to ſuffer the utmoſt extremities, and to fight to the laſt for their ſeat of empire.

Thoſe veſſels, therefore, of gold and ſilver, which their luxury had taken ſuch pride in, were converted into arms. The women parted alſo with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into ſtrings for the bowmen. Aſdrubal, who had been lately condemned for oppoſing the Romans, was now taken from priſon to head their army; and ſuch preparations were made, that, when the conſuls came before the city, which they expected to find an eaſy conqueſt, they met with ſuch reſiſtance as quite diſpirited their forces, and ſhook their reſolution. Several engagements were fought before the walls, with diſadvantage to the aſſailants; ſo that the ſiege would have been diſcontinued, had not Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted ſon of Africanus, who was now appointed to command it, uſed as much ſkill to ſave his forces after a defeat, as to inſpire them with freſh hopes of victory. But all his arts would have failed, had he not found means to ſeduce Phameas, the maſter of the Carthaginian horſe, who came over to his ſide. The unhappy townſmen ſoon ſaw the enemy make nearer approaches; the wall which led to the haven was quickly demoliſhed, ſoon after the Forum itſelf was taken, which offered the conquerors a deplorable ſpectacle of houſes nodding to the fall, heaps of men lying dead, hundreds of the wounded ſtruggling to emerge from the carnage around them, and deploring their own and their country's ruin. The citadel ſoon after ſurrendered at diſcretion. All now but the temple was ſubdued, and that was defended by deſerters from the Roman army, and thoſe who had been moſt forward to undertake the war. Theſe however expecting no mercy, and finding their condition deſperate, ſet fire to the building, and voluntarily periſhed in the flames. This was the end of one of the moſt renowned cities in the world, both

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for arts, opulence, and extent of dominion; it had rivalled Rome for above an hundred years, and at one time was thought to have the ſuperiority.

This conqueſt over Carthage was ſoon followed by many over other ſtates. Corinth, one of the nobleſt cities of Greece, in the ſame year ſuſtained the ſame fate, being entered by Mummius, the conſul, and levelled to the ground. Scipio alſo having laid ſiege to Numantia, the ſtrongeſt city in Spain, the wretched inhabitants, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, fired the city over their own heads, and all, to a man, expired in the flames. Thus Spain became a province belonging to Rome, and was governed thenceforward by two annual prætors.

CHAP. XVII.

From the deſtruction of Carthage, to the end of the ſedition of the Gracchi.

[U. C. 621.]

THE Romans now being left without a rival, the triumphs and the ſpoils of Aſia brought in a taſte for ſplendid expence; and theſe produced avarice and inverted ambition. The two Gracchi were the firſt who ſaw this ſtrange corruption among the great, and reſolved to repreſs it, by renewing the Licinian law, which had enacted that no perſon in the ſtate ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred acres of land. Tiberius Gracchus, the elder of the two, was a perſon very conſiderable both for the advantages of his body, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandſon, he ſeemed more ambitious of power than deſirous of glory: his compaſſion for the oppreſſed was equal to his animoſity againſt the oppreſſors; but unhappily his paſſions, rather than his reaſon, operated even in purſuits of virtue; and theſe always drove him beyond the line of duty. This was the diſpoſition of the elder Gracchus, who found the lower part of the people ready to ſecond all his propo-

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fals. This law, though at first carried on with proper moderation, greatly disgusted the rich, who endeavoured to persuade the people, that the proposer only aimed at disturbing the government, and putting all things into confusion. But Gracchus, who was a man of the greatest eloquence of his time, easily wiped off these impressions from the minds of the people, already irritated with their wrongs, and at length the law was passed.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, furnished Tiberius Gracchus with a new opportunity of gratifying the meaner part of the people at the expence of the great. This king had by his last will left the Romans his heirs; and it was now proposed that the money so left should be divided among the poor, in order to furnish them with proper utensils for cultivating the lands which became theirs by the late law of partition. This caused still greater disturbances than before; the senate assembling upon this occasion in order to consult the most proper methods of securing these riches to themselves, which they now valued above the safety of the commonwealth; they had numerous dependents, who were willing to give up liberty for plenty and ease; these therefore were commanded to be in readiness, to intimidate the people who expected no such opposition, and who were now attending to the harangues of Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol. Here, as a clamour was raised by the clients of the great on one side, and by the favourers of the law on the other, Tiberius found his speech entirely interrupted, and begged in vain to be attended to; till, at last, raising his hand to his head, to intimate that his life was in danger, the partizans of the senate gave out that he wanted a diadem. In consequence of this, an universal uproar spread itself through all ranks of people; the corrupt part of the senate were of opinion, that the consul should defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but this prudent magistrate declining such violence, Scipio Nasica, kinsman to Gracchus, immediately rose up, and preparing himself for the contest, desired that all who would defend the dignity and the authority of

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the laws should follow him. Upon this, attended by a large body of senators and clients, armed with clubs, he went directly to the capitol, striking down all who ventured to resist. Tiberius, perceiving by the tumult that his life was sought for, endeavoured to fly; and, throwing aside his robe to expedite his escape, attempted to get through the throng; but happening to fall over a person already on the ground, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, struck him dead with a piece of a seat; and not less than three hundred of his hearers shared the same fate, being killed in the tumult. Nor did the vengeance of the senate rest here, but extended to numbers of those who seemed to espouse his cause; many of them were put to death, many were banished, and nothing was omitted to inspire the people with an abhorrence of his pretended crimes.

Caius Gracchus, the brother of him who was slain, was but twenty-one upon the death of Tiberius, and as he was too young to be much dreaded by the great, so he was the first unwilling to incur their resentment by aims beyond his reach; he therefore lived in retirement, unseen and almost forgotten. But, while he thus seemed desirous of avoiding popularity, he was employing his solitude in the study of eloquence, which was the readiest means to obtain it: at length, when he thought himself qualified to serve his country, he offered himself candidate for the quæstorship to the army in Sardinia, which he readily obtained. His valour, affability, and temperance in his office were remarked by all. The king of Numidia, sending a present of corn to the Romans, ordered his ambassadors to say that it was entirely as a tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. This the senate treated with scorn, and ordered the ambassadors to be dismissed with contempt, as ignorant barbarians; which so inflamed the resentment of young Gracchus, that he immediately came from the army to complain of the indignity thrown upon his reputation, and to offer himself for the tribuneship of the people. It was then that the great found in this youth, who had been hitherto re-

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elected upon account of his age, a more formidable antagoniſt than even his brother had been. Notwithſtanding the warmeſt oppoſition from the ſenate, he was declared tribune by a large majority, and he now prepared to run the ſame career which his brother had gone before him.

His firſt effort was to have Popilius, one of the moſt inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people, who, rather than ſtand the event of a trial, choſe to go into voluntary baniſhment. He next procured an edict, granting the freedom of the city to the inhabitants of Latium, and ſoon after to all the people on that ſide the Alps. He afterwards fixed the price of corn to a moderate ſtandard, and procured a monthly diſtribution of it among the people. He then proceeded to an inſpection into the late corruptions of the ſenate; in which the whole body being convicted of bribery, extortion, and the ſale of offices, for at that time a total degeneracy ſeemed to have taken place, a law was made, transferring the power of judging corrupt magiſtrates from the ſenate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the conſtitution.

Gracchus, by theſe means, being grown not only very popular but very powerful in the ſtate, was become an object at which the ſenate aimed all their reſentment. But he ſoon found the populace a faithleſs and unſteady ſupport; they began to withdraw all their confidence from him, and place it upon Druſus, a man inſidiouſly ſet up againſt him by the ſenate. It was in vain that he revived the Licinian law in their favour, and called up ſeveral of the inhabitants of the different towns of Italy to his ſupport; the ſenate ordered them all to depart Rome, and even ſent one ſtranger to priſon, whom Gracchus had invited to live with him, and honoured with his table and friendſhip. To this indignity was ſhortly after added a diſgrace of a more fatal tendency; for ſtanding for the tribuneſhip a third time, he was rejected, it being ſuppoſed that the officers, whoſe duty it was to make the return, were bribed to reject him though fairly choſen.

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It was now seen that the fate of Gracchus was resolved on. Opimius, the consul, was not contented with the protection of all the senate and the knights, with a numerous retinue of slaves and clients, but ordered a body of Candians, that were mercenaries in the Roman service, to follow and attend him. Thus guarded, and conscious of the superiority of his forces, he insulted Gracchus wherever he met him, doing all in his power to produce a quarrel, in which he might have a pretence of dispatching his enemy in the fray. Gracchus avoided all recrimination; and, as if apprised of the consul's designs, would not even wear any kind of arms for his defence. His friend Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was not so remiss, but resolved to oppose party against party, and for this purpose brought up several countrymen to Rome, who came under pretence of desiring employment. When the day for determining the controversy was arrived, the two parties early in the morning attended at the capitol, where, while the consul was sacrificing, according to custom, one of the lictors, taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain in order to remove them, could not forbear crying out to Fulvius and his party, "You, ye "factious citizens, make way for honest men." This insult so provoked the party to whom it was addressed, that they instantly fell upon him, and pierced him to death with the instruments they used in writing, which they then happened to have in their hands. This murder caused a great disturbance in the assembly; but particularly Gracchus, who saw the consequences that were likely to ensue, reprimanded his party for giving his enemies such advantage over him, but now prepared to lead his followers to mount Aventine. It was there he learned that proclamation had been made by the consuls, that whoever should bring either his head or that of Flaccus, should receive its weight in gold as a reward. It was to no purpose that he sent the youngest son of Flaccus, who was yet a child, with proposals for an accommodation. The senate and the consuls, who were sensible of their superiority, rejected all his offers, and resolved to punish his offence with nothing

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leſs than death; and they offered pardon alſo to all who ſhould leave him immediately. This produced the deſired effect; the people fell from him by degrees, and left him with very inferior forces. In the mean time, Opimius, the conſul, who thirſted for ſlaughter, leading his forces up to mount Aventine, fell in among the crowd with ungovernable fury: a terrible ſlaughter of the ſcarce reſiſting multitude enſued, and not leſs than three thouſand citizens were ſlain upon the ſpot. Flaccus attempted to find ſhelter in a ruinous cottage, but being diſcovered, was ſlain with his eldeſt ſon. Gracchus at firſt retired to the temple of Diana, where he was reſolved to die by his own hand; but was prevented by two of his faithful friends and followers, Pomponius and Lucinius, who forced him to ſeek ſafety by flight. From thence he made the beſt of his way to croſs a bridge that led from the city, ſtill attended by his two generous friends, and a Grecian ſlave, whoſe name was Philocrates. But his purſuers ſtill preſſed upon him from behind, and when come to the foot of the bridge, he was obliged to turn and face the enemy. His two friends were ſoon ſlain, defending him againſt the crowd; and he was forced to take refuge with his ſlave in a grove beyond the Tyber, which had long been dedicated to the furies. Here, finding himſelf ſurrounded on every ſide, and no way left of eſcaping, he prevailed upon his ſlave to kill him, who immediately after killed himſelf, and fell down upon the body of his beloved maſter. The purſuers ſoon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while as a trophy upon a ſpear. Soon after, one Septimulcius carrying it home, there, firſt having ſecretly taken out the brain, he filled it with lead in order to make it weigh heavier, and thus received of the conſul ſeventeen pounds of gold as his recompence.

Thus died Caius Gracchus about ten years after his brother Tiberius, and ſix after he began to be active in the commonwealth. He is uſually impeached by hiſtorians as guilty of ſedition; but from what we ſee of his character, the diſturbance of public tranquility was rather owing to his oppoſers than to him; ſo that

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inſtead of calling the tumults of that time the ſedition of the Gracchi, we ſhould rather call them the ſedition of the ſenate againſt the Gracchi, ſince the efforts of the latter were made in vindication of a law to which the ſenate had aſſented, and as the deſigns of the former were ſupported by an extraneous armed power from the country that had never before meddled in the buſineſs of the legiſlation, and whoſe introduction gave a moſt irrecoverable blow to the conſtitution. Whether the Gracchi were actuated by motives of ambition or of patriotiſm in the promulgation of theſe laws, it is impoſſible to determine; but certain it is, from what appears, that all juſtice was on their ſide, and all injury on that of the ſenate. In fact, this body was now quite changed from that venerable aſſembly, which we have ſeen overthrowing Pyrrhus and Hannibal, as much by their virtues as by their arms. They were now only to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people by their ſuperior luxuries, and ruled the commonwealth by the weight of that authority which is gained from riches, and a number of mercenary dependencies. All the venal and the baſe were attached to them from motives of ſelf intereſt; and they who ſtill ventured to be independent were borne down, and entirely loſt in the infamous majority. In ſhort, the empire at this period came under the government of an hateful ariſtocracy; the tribunes, who were formerly accounted protectors of the people, becoming rich themſelves, and having no longer oppoſite intereſts from thoſe of the ſenate, concurred in their oppreſſions; ſince, as has been ſaid, it was not now the ſtruggle between patricians and plebeians, who only nominally differed, but between the rich and the poor. The lower orders of the ſtate being by theſe means reduced to a degree of hopeleſs ſubjection, inſtead of looking after liberty only ſought for a leader; while the rich, with all the ſuſpicion of tyrants, terrified at the ſlighteſt appearance of oppoſition, entruſted men with uncontrollable power, from whom they had not ſtrength to withdraw it when the danger was over. Thus both parts of the ſtate concurred in giving up their freedom; the fears of the

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senate first made the dictator, and the hatred of the people kept him in his office. Nothing can be more dreadful to a thinking mind than the government of Rome from this period, till it found refuge under the protection of Augustus.

CHAP. XVIII.

From the sedition of Gracchus to the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla, which was the first step towards the ruin of the commonwealth of Rome.

WHILE the Romans were in this state of deplorable corruption at home, they nevertheless were very successful in their transactions with regard to foreign powers.

Jugurtha was grandson to the famous Massiniſſa, who sided against Hannibal with Rome. He was educated with the two young princes, who were left to inherit the kingdom, and being superior in abilities to both, and greatly in favour with the people, he murdered Hiempsal, the eldest son, and attempted the same by Adherbal, the younger, who made his escape, and fled to the Romans for succour. Whereupon Jugurtha, being sensible how much avarice and injustice had crept into the senate, sent his ambassadors with large presents to Rome, who so successfully prevailed, that the senate decreed him half the kingdom which he had thus acquired by murder and usurpation, and sent ten commissioners to divide it between him and Adherbal. The commissioners, of whom Opimius, the murderer of Gracchus, was one, willing to follow the example which the senate had set them, were also bribed to bestow the most rich and populous part of the kingdom upon the usurper, who for all that resolved to possess himself of the whole. But willing to give a colour to his ambition, he only made in the beginning incursions upon his colleagues' territories, in order to provoke reprisals, which he knew how to convert into seeming aggression, in case it came before the senate. This

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failing, he resolved to throw off the mask; and besieging Adherbal in Cirta, his capital, he at length got him into his power, and murdered him. The people of Rome, who had still some generosity remaining, unanimously complained of this treachery, and procured a decree, that Jugurtha should be summoned in person before them, to give an account of all such as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha made no great difficulty in throwing himself upon the clemency of Rome; but giving the people no satisfaction, he had orders to depart the city; and, in the mean time, Albanus, the consul, was sent with an army to follow him, who giving up the direction of the army to Aulus, his brother, a person every way unqualified for the command, the Romans were compelled to hazard a battle upon disadvantageous terms; and the whole army, to avoid being cut to pieces, was obliged to pass under the yoke.

In this condition, Metellus, the succeeding consul, found affairs upon his arrival in Numidia; officers without confidence, an army without discipline, and an enemy ever watchful and intriguing. However, by his great attention to business, and by an integrity that shuddered at corruption, he soon began to retrieve the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the army. In the space of two years Jugurtha was overthrown in several battles, forced out of his own dominions, and constrained to beg a peace. Thus all things promised Metellus an easy and certain victory, but he was frustrated in his expectations by the intrigues of Caius Marius, his lieutenant, who came in to reap that harvest of glory which the other's industry had sown. Caius Marius was born in a village near Arpinium, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour. As he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was frightful.—He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. When Metellus, as had been said, was obliged to solicit at Rome for a continuance of his command, Marius, whose ambition knew no bounds, was resolved to obtain it for himself, and thus gain all the glory of putting an end to the

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war. To that end he privately inveighed againſt Metellus by his emiſſaries at Rome; and having excited a ſpirit of diſcontent againſt him, he had leave granted him to go to Rome to ſtand for the conſulſhip himſelf, which he obtained contrary to the expectation and intereſt of the nobles.

Marius being thus inveſted with the ſupreme power of managing the war, ſhewed himſelf every way fit for the commiſſion. His vigilance was equal to his valour, and he quickly made himſelf maſter of the cities which Jugurtha had yet remaining in Numidia. This unfortunate prince finding himſelf unable to make oppoſition ſingly, was obliged to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to Bocchus king of Mauritania, to whoſe daughter he was married. A battle ſoon after enſued, in which the Numidians ſurpriſed the Roman camp by night, and gained a temporary advantage. However, it was but of ſhort continuance; for Marius ſoon after overthrew them in two ſignal engagements, in one of which, not leſs than ninety thouſand of the African army were ſlain. Bocchus now finding the Romans two powerful to be reſiſted, did not think it expedient to hazard his own crown to protect that of his ally; he therefore determined to make peace upon whatever conditions he might obtain it; and accordingly ſent to Rome imploring protection. The ſenate received the ambaſſadors with their uſual haughtineſs; and, without complying with their requeſt, granted the ſuppliant, not their friendſhip but their pardon. Notwithſtanding, after ſome time, he was given to underſtand, that the delivering up of Jugurtha to the Romans would in ſome meaſure conciliate their favour, and ſoften their reſentment. At firſt the pride of Bocchus ſtruggled againſt ſuch a propoſal, but a few interviews with Sylla, who was quæſtor to Marius, reconciled him to this treacherous meaſure. At length, therefore, Jugurtha was given up, being drawn into an ambuſcade by the ſpecious pretences of his ally, who deluded him, by deſiring a conference; and being made a priſoner, he was carried by Marius to Rome, loaded with chains, a deplorable inſtance of blaſted ambition. He did not long ſurvive

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his overthrow, being condemned by the ſenate to be ſtarved to death in priſon a ſhort time after he had adorned the triumph of the conquerer.

Marius, by this and two ſucceeding victories over the Gauls, having become very formidable to diſtant nations in war, became ſoon after much more dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace.

The ſtrength which he had given the popular party, every day grew more conſpicuous; and the Italians being fruſtrated in their aims of gaining the freedom of Rome by the intrigues of the ſenate, they reſolved upon obtaining by force what was refuſed them as a favour. This gave riſe to the Social war, in which moſt of the ſtates of Italy entered into a confederacy againſt Rome, in order to obtain a redreſs of this and all the reſt of their grievances.

After a lapſe of two years this war having continued to rage with doubtful ſucceſs, the ſenate began to reflect that, whether conquered or conquerors, the power of the Romans was in danger of being totally deſtroyed. In order therefore to ſoften their compliance by degrees, they began by giving the freedom of the city to ſuch of the Italian ſtates, as had not revolted.—They then offered it to ſuch as would ſooneſt lay down their arms. This unexpected bounty had the deſired effect; the allies, with mutual diſtruſt, offered each a ſeparate treaty: the ſenate took them one by one into favour, but gave the freedom of the city in ſuch a manner, that, being empowered to vote not until all the other tribes had given their ſuffrages, they had very little weight in the conſtitution. In this manner they were made free, all but the Samnites and Lucanians, who ſeemed excluded from the general compromiſe, as if to leave Sylla, who commanded againſt them, the glory of putting an end to the war; this he performed with great conduct, ſtorming their camps, overthrowing them in ſeveral battles, and obliging them to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the ſenate were pleaſed to impoſe.

This deſtructive war being concluded, which, as Paterculus ſays, conſumed above three hundred thouſand

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of the flower of Italy, the ſenate now began to think of turning their arms againſt Mithridates, the moſt powerful monarch of the eaſt.

For this expedition Marius had long been preparing; but Sylla, who now began to make a figure in the commonwealth, had intereſt enough to get Marius ſet aſide, and himſelf appointed to the expedition. Marius, however, tried all his arts with the people to get this appointment reverſed, and at length procured a law to be enacted, that the command of the army appointed to oppoſe Mithridates was to be transferred from Sylla to Marius.

In conſequence of this, Marius immediately ſent down officers from Rome to take the command in his name. But, inſtead of obeying their orders, they fell upon and ſlew the officers, and then entreated Sylla that he would lead them directly to take ſignal vengeance upon all his enemies at Rome.

Accordingly his ſoldiers entered the city ſword in hand, as a place taken by ſtorm. Marius and Sulpicius, at the head of a tumultuary body of their partizans, attempted to oppoſe their entrance; and the citizens themſelves, who feared the ſackage of the place, threw down ſtones and tiles from the tops of the houſes upon the intruders. So unequal a conflict laſted longer than could have been expected: at length Marius and his party were obliged to ſeek ſafety by flight, after having vainly offered liberty to all the ſlaves who would aſſiſt them in this emergency.

Sylla now finding himſelf maſter of the city, began by modelling the laws ſo as to favour his outrages.—While Marius, driven out of Rome, and declared a public enemy, at the age of ſeventy was obliged to ſave himſelf, unattended and on foot, from the numerous purſuits of thoſe who ſought his life. After having wandered for ſome time in this deplorable condition, he found every day his dangers increaſe, and his purſuers making nearer advances. In this diſtreſs he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the marſhes of Minturnum, where he ſpent the night up to his chin in a quagmire. At break of day he left this diſmal place

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and made towards the sea-side, in hopes of finding a ship to facilitate his escape; but being known and discovered by some of the inhabitants, he was conducted to a neighbouring town, with a halter round his neck, without clothes, and covered over with mud, was sent to prison. The governor of the place, willing to conform to the orders of the senate, soon after sent a Cimbrian slave to dispatch him; but the barbarian no sooner entered the dungeon for this purpose but he stopt short, intimidated by the dreadful visage and awful voice of the fallen general, who sternly demanded if he had the presumption to kill Caius Marius? The slave, unable to reply, threw down his sword, and rushing back from the prison, cried out that he found it impossible to kill him! The governor, considering the fear of the slave as an omen in the unhappy exile's favour, gave him once more his freedom; and, commending him to his fortune, provided him with a ship to convey him from Italy. He from thence made the best of his way to the island of Ænaria, and sailing onward was forced by a tempest on the coast of Sicily.—There a Roman quæstor, who happened to be at the same place, resolved to seize him; by which he lost sixteen of his crew, who were killed in their endeavours to cover his retreat to the ship. He afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went in a melancholy manner to place himself amongst the ruins of that desolated place. He soon, however, had orders from the prætor who governed there to retire. Marius, who remembered his having once served this very man when in necessity, could not suppress his sorrow at finding ingratitude in every quarter of the world, and preparing to obey, desired the messenger to tell his master that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, intimating the greatness of his own fall by the desolation that was round him. He then embarked once more, and not knowing where to land without encountering an enemy, spent the winter at sea, expecting every hour the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit protection from an African prince, whose name was Mandrastal.

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After long expectation, instead of the messenger, his son himself arrived, having escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch, where he had been kept, not as a friend, but a prisoner, and had returned just time enough to prevent his father from sharing the same fate. It was in this situation that they were informed that Cinna, one of their party, who had remained at Rome, had restored their affairs, and headed a large army of the Italian states in his cause.

Nor was it long before they joined their forces, and presented themselves at the gates of Rome. Sylla was at that time absent in his command against Mithridates, while Cinna marched into the city accompanied by his guards; but Marius stopped, and refused to enter, alledging, that, having been banished by a public decree, it was necessary to have another to authorize his return. It was thus that he desired to give his meditated cruelties the appearance of justice; and, while he was about to destroy thousands, to pretend an implicit veneration for the laws. In pursuance of his desire, an assembly of the people being called, they began to reverse his banishment; but they had scarce gone through three of the tribes, when, incapable of containing his desire of revenge, he entered the city at the head of his guards, and massacred all that had ever been obnoxious to him, without remorse or pity. Several who sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage were murdered by his command in his presence; many, even of those who had never offended him, were put to death; and at last even his own officers never approached him but with terror. Having in this manner punished his enemies, he next abrogated all the laws which were made by his rival, and then made himself consul with Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite passions, vengeance and ambition, having once saved his country, and now deluged it with blood; at last, as if willing to crown the pile of slaughter which he had made with his own body, he died the month after, aged seventy, not without suspicion of having hastened his end.

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In the mean time these accounts were brought to Sylla, who was sent against Mithridates, and who was performing many signal services against him; but concluding a peace with that monarch, he resolved to return home to take revenge of his enemies at Rome.

In the mean time nothing could intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, who was now elected in the room of Valerius who had been slain, together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised into Dalmatia to oppose Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but these being dispersed by a storm, the rest that had not yet put to sea absolutely refused to go. Upon this, Cinna, quite furious at their disobedience, rushed forward to persuade them to their duty. In the mean time, one of the most mutinous of the soldiers being struck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna did all he could to prevent or appease it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

Scipio, the consul, who commanded against Sylla, was soon after allured by proposals for coming to a treaty: but a suspension of arms being agreed upon, Sylla's soldiers went into the opposite camp, displaying those riches which they had acquired in their expeditions, and offering to participate with their fellow citizens in case they changed their party. Accordingly, the whole army declared unanimously for Sylla; and Scipio scarce knew that he was forsaken and deposed, till he was informed of it by a party of the enemy, who entering his tent, made him and his son their prisoners.

In this manner both factions exasperated to the highest degree, and expecting no mercy on either part, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of young Marius, who now succeeded his father in command, were the most numerous,

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but thoſe of Sylla better united and more under ſubordination. Carbo who commanded an army for Marius in the field, ſent eight legions to Præneſte, to relieve his colleague, but they were met by Pompey, afterwards ſurnamed the Great, in a defile, who ſlew many of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, ſoon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loſs of ten thouſand men ſlain, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners. In conſequence of this defeat, Urbanus killed himſelf, and Carbo fled to Africa, where, after wandering a long time, he was at laſt delivered up to Pompey, who, to pleaſe Sylla, ordered him to be beheaded. Sylla now became undiſputed maſter of his country, entered Rome at the head of his army. Happy had he ſupported in peace the glory which he had acquired in war, or had he ceaſed to live, when he ceaſed to conquer.

Eight thouſand men who had eſcaped the general carnage offered themſelves to the conqueror; he ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large houſe in the Campus Martius, and at the ſame time convoked the ſenate; there he ſpoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way diſcompoſed, of his own exploits; and in the mean time gave private directions, that all thoſe wretches whom he had confined ſhould be ſlain. The ſenate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the ſufferers, at firſt thought that the city was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarraſſed air, informed them that it was only ſome criminals who were puniſhed by his order, and that they needed not to make themſelves uneaſy about their fate. The day after he proſcribed forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights; and after an intermiſſion of two days, forty ſenators more, with an infinite number of the richeſt citizens of Rome.

He next reſolved to inveſt himſelf with the dictatorſhip, and that for a perpetuity: and thus uniting all civil as well as military power in his own perſon, he was conſcious he might thence give an air of juſtice to every oppreſſion.

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In this manner he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to reſiſt his power, until, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, he laid down the dictatorſhip, having held it not quite three years.

After this he retired into the country in order to enjoy the pleaſures of tranquility and ſocial happineſs; but he did not long ſurvive his abdication; he died of that diſeaſe which is called the morbus pedicularis, a loathſome and mortifying object, and capable of ſhewing the futility of human ambition.

CHAP. XIX.

From the perpetual Dictatorſhip of Sylla, to the Triumvirate of Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus.

[U. C. 680.]

UPON the death of Sylla, the jealouſies of Pompey and Craſſus, the two moſt powerful men in the empire, began to excite freſh diſſenſions. Pompey was the moſt beloved general and Craſſus was the richeſt man in Rome.

The firſt opportunity that was afforded of diſcovering their mutual jealouſy was upon diſbanding their troops with which they had conquered. Neither choſe to begin; ſo that the moſt fatal conſequences threatened from their diſſenſion: but at length, Craſſus ſtifling his reſentment, laid down his command; and the other followed his example immediately after.—The next trial between them was, who ſhould be foremoſt in obtaining the favour of the people. Craſſus entertained the populace at a thouſand different tables, diſtributed corn to the families of the poor, and fed the greateſt part of the citizens for near three months.—Pompey, on the other hand, laboured to abrogate the laws made againſt the people's authority by Sylla: he reſtored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus, and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their for-

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mer privileges. It was thus that each gave his private aims a public appearance; so that what was in reality ambition in both, took with one the name of liberality, with the other that of freedom.

An expedition, in which Pompey cleared the Mediterranean, which was infested by pirates, having added greatly to his reputation, the tribunes of the people hoped it would be easier to advance their favourite still higher; wherefore Manilius, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, with the government of all Asia, together with the management of the war, which was renewed against Mithridates, should be committed to him alone. The law passed with little opposition, and the decree was confirmed by all the tribes of the people.

Being thus appointed to the command of that important war, he immediately departed for Asia, having made the proper preparations towards forwarding the campaign. Mithridates had been obliged by Lucullus to take refuge in Lesser Armenia, and thither that general was preparing to follow him, when his whole army abandoned him, so that it remained for Pompey to terminate the war, which he effected with great ease and expedition, adding a large extent of dominion to the Roman empire, and returning to Rome in triumph at the head of his conquering army.

But all the victories of Pompey rather served to heighten the glory than to increase the power of Rome; they only made it a more glaring object of ambition, and exposed its liberties to greater danger. Those liberties indeed seemed devoted to ruin on every side; for, even while he was pursuing his conquests abroad, Rome was at the verge of ruin from a conspiracy at home. This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Sergius Catiline, a patrician by birth, who resolved to build his own power on the downfall of his country. He was singularly formed, both by art and nature, to conduct a conspiracy: he was possessed of courage equal to the most desperate attempts, and eloquence to give a colour to his ambition; ruined in his fortune, profligate in his manners, and vigilant, in

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purſuing his aims, he was inſatiable after wealth, only with a view to laviſh it on his guilty pleaſure.

Catiline, having contracted many debts by the looſeneſs of ſuch an ill ſpent life, was reſolved to extricate himſelf from them by any means however unlawful.

Accordingly he aſſembled about thirty of his debauched aſſociates, and informed them of his aims, his hopes, and his ſettled plan of operations. It was reſolved among them that a general inſurrection ſhould be raiſed throughout Italy, the different parts of which were aſſigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in ſeveral places at once, and Catiline, at the head of an army raiſed in Etruria, was in the general confuſion to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, and maſſacre all the ſenators. Lentulus, one of his profligate aſſiſtants, who had been prætor, or judge in the city, was to preſide in their general councils: Cethegus, a man who ſacrificed the poſſeſſion of great preſent power to the hopes of gratifying his revenge againſt Cicero, was to direct the maſſacre through the city: and Cæſius was to conduct thoſe who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a chief obſtacle to their deſigns, Catiline was very deſirous to ſee him taken off before he left Rome; upon which two knights of the company undertook to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early viſit on pretence of buſineſs. But the meeting was no ſooner over than Cicero had information of all that paſſed in it; for by the intrigues of a woman, named Fulvia, he had gained over Curius, her lover, and one of the conſpirators, to ſend him a punctual account of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himſelf againſt the deſigns of his morning viſitors, who were punctual to the appointment, he next took care to provide for the defence of the city; and aſſembling the ſenate, conſulted what was beſt to be done in this time of danger. The firſt ſtep taken was to offer conſiderable rewards for farther diſcoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the ſtate. Catiline, to ſhew how well he could diſſemble, or juſtify any crime, went boldly to the ſenate, declaring his innocence; but when confronted by the elo-

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quence of Cicero, he haſtily withdrew; declaring aloud, that ſince he was denied a vindication of himſelf, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguiſh the flames which was raiſed about him in univerſal ruin. Accordingly, after a ſhort conference with Lentulus and Cethegus, he left Rome by night, with a ſmall retinue, to make the beſt of his way towards Etruria, where Manilius, one of the conſpirators, was raiſing an army to ſupport him.

In the mean time Cicero took proper precautions to ſecure all thoſe of the conſpiracy who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cæſius, and ſeverl others, were put in confinement; and ſoon after, by the command of the ſenate, being delivered over to the executioner, were ſtrangled in priſon.

While his aſſociates were put to death in the city, Catiline had raiſed an army of twelve thouſand men; of which a fourth part only was completely armed; the reſt being furniſhed with what chance afforded, darts, lances, and clubs. He refuſed at firſt to enliſt ſlaves, who had flocked to him in great numbers, truſting to the proper ſtrength of the conſpiracy; but upon the approach of the conſul, who was ſent againſt him, and upon the arrival of the news that his confederates were put to death in Rome, the face of his affairs were entirely altered. His firſt attempt, therefore, was by long marches, to make his eſcape over the Apennines into Gaul; but in this his hopes were diſappointed, all the paſſes being ſtrictly guarded by an army under Metellus, ſuperior to his own. Being thus hemmed in on every ſide, and ſeeing all things deſperate, with nothing left him but either to die or conquer, he reſolved to make one vigorous effort againſt that army which purſued him. Antonius, the conſul, being himſelf ſick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant Petreius, who, after a fierce and bloody action, in which he loſt a conſiderable part of his beſt troops, put Catiline's forces to the rout, and deſtroyed his whole army, which fought deſperately to the laſt man.

The extinction of this conſpiracy ſeemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men.

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of the ſtate to diſplay itſelf in. Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the eaſt, as he had before been victorious in Europe and Africa.

Craſſus, as we have already obſerved, was the richeſt man in Rome; and next to him, poſſeſſed of the greateſt authority: his party in the ſenate was even ſtronger than that of Pompey his rival, and the envy raiſed againſt him was leſs. He and Pompey had been long diſunited by an oppoſition of intereſts and of characters: however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealouſies that the ſtate was in ſome meaſure to expect its future ſafety. It was in this ſituation of things that Julius Cæſar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, reſolved to convert their mutual jealouſy to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius by the female line, and deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome: he had already mounted by the regular gradations of office, having been quæſter, ædile, grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being deſcended from popular anceſtors, he warmly eſpouſed the ſide of the people; and ſhortly after the death of Sylla procured thoſe whom he had baniſhed to be recalled. He had all along declared for the populace againſt the ſenate, and by this became their moſt favourite magiſtrate. This conſummate ſtateſman began firſt by offering his ſervices to Pompey, promiſing him his aid in having all his acts paſſed, notwithſtanding the ſenate's oppoſition. Pompey, pleaſed at the acquiſition of a perſon of ſo much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Craſſus, who, from former connections was diſpoſed to become ſtill more nearly his friend: at length, finding neither of them averſe to an union of intereſts, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and remonſtrating to them on the advantage as well as the neceſſity of a reconciliation, he had art enough to perſuade them to forget former animoſities. A combination was thus formed, by which they three agreed that nothing ſhould be done in the commonwealth but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation.—

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This was called the first Triumvirate, by which we find the constitution weakened by a new interest that had not hitherto taken place in the government, very different from that either of the senate or the people, and yet dependent on both.

CHAP. XX.

From the beginning of the first Triumvirate, to the death of Pompey.

[U. C. 694.]

THE first thing Cæsar did, upon being taken into the triumvirate, was to avail himself of the interest of his confederates to obtain the consulship. The senate had still some influence left; and, though they were obliged to concur in chusing, yet they gave him for a colleague one Bibulus, who they supposed would be a check upon his power; but the opposition was too strong for even superior abilities to resist it; so that Bibulus, after a slight attempt in favor of the senate, remained inactive. Cæsar began his schemes for empire, by ingratiating himself with the people: he procured a law for dividing certain lands in Campania among such of the poor citizens as had at least three children. This proposal was just enough in itself, and only criminal from the views of the proposer.

Having thus strengthened himself at home, he next deliberated with his confederates about sharing the foreign provinces of the empire between them. The partition was soon made: Pompy chose Spain for his own part; for being fatigued with conquest, and satiated with military fame, he was willing to take his pleasures at Rome. Crassus chose Syria for his part of the empire; which province, as it had hitherto enriched the generals who had subdued it, would, he hoped, gratify him in this his most favourite pursuit. To Cæsar was left the province of Gaul; composed of many fierce and powerful nations, most of them unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection. Wherefore,

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as it was rather appointing him to conquer than command, this government was granted him for five years, as if, by its continuance, to compensate for its danger.

It would be impossible, in this narrow compass, to enumerate all the battles Cæsar fought, and the states he subdued, in his expeditions into Gaul and Britain, which continued eight years. The Helvetians were the first that were brought into subjection with the loss of near two hundred thousand men; those who remained after the carnage were sent by Cæsar in safety to the forests from whence they had issued. The Germans, with Arioviſtus at their head, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand; their monarch himself narrowly escaping in a little boat across the Rhine. The Belge were cut off with such great slaughter, that marshes and deep rivers were rendered passible from the heaps of slain. The Nervians, who were the most warlike of those barbarous nations, made head for a short time, and fell upon the Romans with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly routed; but Cæsar himself, hastily catching up a buckler, rushed through his army into the midst of the enemy, by which means he so turned the fate of the day, that the barbarians were all cut off to a man. The Celtic Gauls, who were powerful at sea, were next brought under subjection. After them the Suevi, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea. From thence, stimulated by the desire of conquest, he crossed over into Britain, upon pretence that the natives had furnished his enemies with continual supplies. Upon approaching the shores he found them covered with men to oppose his landing, and his forces were in danger of being driven back, till the standard bearer of the tenth legion boldly leaped ashore, and, being well assisted by Cæsar, the natives were put to flight. The Brittons, being terrified at Cæsar's power, sent to desire a peace which was granted them, and some hostages delivered. A storm, however, soon after destroying great part of his fleet, they resolved to take advantage of the disaster, and marched against him with a powerful army. But what could a naked

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undiſciplined army do againſt forces that had been exerciſed under the greateſt generals, and hardened by the conqueſts of the greateſt part of the world? Being overthrown, they were obliged once more to ſue for peace; which Cæſar granted them, and then returned to the continent. Thus in leſs than nine years he conquered, together with Britain, all that country which extends from the Mediterranean to the German ſea.

While Cæſar was thus increaſing his reputation and riches abroad, Pompey, who remained all the time in Rome, ſteadily co-operated with his ambition, and advanced his intereſts, while he vainly ſuppoſed he was forwarding his own. By his means Cæſar was continued five years longer in Gaul: nor was he rouſed from his lethargy, till the fame of that great commander's valour, riches, and humanity, began ſecretly to give him pain, and to make him ſuppoſe they began to eclipſe his own; for, as being more recent, they were more talked of. He now therefore began to do all in his power to diminiſh Cæſar's reputation, obliging the magiſtrates not to publiſh any letters they received from him till he had diminiſhed the credit of them, by ſpreading diſadvantageous reports: one or two accidents alſo helped to widen the ſeparation: namely, the death of Julia, Pompey's wife, who had not only a little contributed to improve the harmony that ſubſiſted between them; and the deſtruction of Craſſus, who had conducted the war againſt the Parthians with ſo little prudence, that he ſuffered the enemy to get the advantage of him in almoſt every ſkirmiſh; and incapable of extricating himſelf from the difficulties in which he was involved, he fell a ſacrifice to his own raſhneſs, being killed, bravely defending himſelf to the laſt.

Cæſar, who now began to be ſenſible of the jealouſies of Pompey, took occaſion to ſolicit for the conſulſhip, together with a prolongation of his government in Gaul, deſirous of trying whether Pompey would thwart or promote his pretenſions. In this Pompey ſeemed to be quite inactive; but at the ſame time privately employed two of his creatures, who alledged in

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the senate that the laws did not permit a person that was absent to offer himself as a candidate for that high office. Pompey's view in this was to allure Cæsar from his government, in order to stand for the consulship in person. Cæsar, however, perceiving his artifice, chose to remain in his province, convinced, that while he headed such an army as was now devoted to his interest, he could at any time give laws as well as magistrates to the state.

The senate, which were now devoted to Pompey, because he had for some time attempted to defend them from the encroachments of the people, ordered the two legions which were in Cæsar's army, belonging to Pompey, home, as it was pretended, to oppose the Parthians, but, in reality, to diminish Cæsar's power. Cæsar easily saw their motive; but as his plans were not yet ready for execution, he sent them home in pursuance of the orders of the senate, having previously attached the officers to him with benefits, and the soldiers with a bounty. The next step the senate took was to recall Cæsar from his government, as his time was now very near expiring. But Curio, his friend in the senate, proposed that Cæsar should not leave his army till Pompey had set him the example. This for a while perplexed Pompey; however, during the debate, one of the senate declaring that Cæsar was past the Alps, and marching with his whole army directly towards Rome, the consul, immediately quitting the senate, went with his colleague forth from the city to an house where Pompey at that time resided. He there presented him with a sword, commanding him to march against Cæsar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth.—Pompey declared he was ready to obey: but, with an air of pretended moderation, added, that it was only in case more gentle expedients could not be employed.

Cæsar, who was instructed in all that passed by his partizans at Rome, though he was still in Gaul, was willing to give his aims all the appearance of justice. He agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey should do the same. But the senate rejected all his propositions, blindly confident of their own power, and

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relying on the assurances of Pompey. Cæsar still unwilling to come to an open rupture with the state, at last was content to ask the government of Illyria with two legions; but this also was refused him. Now, therefore, finding all hopes of an accommodation fruitless, and conscious, if not of the goodness of his cause, at least of the goodness of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy, and, passing the Alps with his third legion, stopped at Ravenna, a city of Cisalpine Gaul, from whence he once more wrote a letter to the consuls, declaring that he was ready to resign all command in case Pompey did so too. On the other hand, the senate decreed that Cæsar should lay down his government, and disband his force, within a limited time; and if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the commonwealth.

Cæsar, however, seemed no way disturbed at these violent proceedings: the night before his intended expedition into Italy, he sat down to table cheerfully conversing with his friends on the subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern. After some time, rising up, he desired the company to make themselves cheerful in his absence, and that he would be with them in a moment: in the mean time, having ordered his chariot to be prepared, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Arminium a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had dispatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he peformed with great diligence, sometimes walking and sometimes on horseback, till, at the break of day, he came up with his army, which consisted of about five thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river which separates Italy from Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had ever been taught to consider this river as the sacred boundary of their domestic empire; Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced at the head of his army to the side of the river, stopt short upon the bank, as if impress with terror at the greatness of his enterprise

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He pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking upon the river, and debating with himself whether he should venture in: "If I pass this river," says he to one of the generals who stood by him, "what mi-"series shall I bring upon my country! and, if now I "stop short, I am undone." Thus saying, and resuming all his former alacrity, he plunged in, crying out, that the die was cast and all was now over. His soldiers followed him with equal promptitude, and quickly arriving at Arminium, made themselves masters of the place without any resistance.

This unexpected enterprize excited the utmost terrors in Rome, every one imagining that Cæsar was leading his army to lay the city in ruins. At one time were to be seen the citizens flying into the country for safety, and the inhabitants of the country coming up to seek for shelter in Rome. In this universal confusion Pompey felt all that repentance and self-condemnation which must necessarily arise from the remembrance of having advanced his rival to his present pitch of power; wherever he appeared, many of his former friends were ready to tax him with his supineness, and sarcastically to reproach his ill-grounded presumption. "Where is now," cried Favonius, a ridiculous senator of his party, "the army that is to rise "at your command? Let us see if it will appear by "stamping." Cato reminded him of many warnings he had given him; which, however, as he was continually boding nothing but calamities, Pompey might very justly be excused from attending to. But being at length wearied with these reproaches, which were offered under colour of advice, he did all that lay in his power to encourage and confirm his followers: he told them that they should not want an army; for that he would be their leader; he confest, indeed, that he had all along mistaken Cæsar's aims, judging of them only from what they ought to be; however, if his friends were still inspired with the love of freedom, they might yet enjoy it in whatever place their necessities should happen to conduct them. He let them know that their affairs were in a very promising situation; that his two

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lieutenants were at the head of a very conſiderable army in Spain, compoſed of veteran troops that had made the conqueſt of the Eaſt; beſides theſe, there were infinite reſources both in Aſia and Africa, together with the ſuccours they were ſure to expect from all the kingdoms that were in alliance with Rome. This ſpeech ſerved in ſome meaſure to revive the hopes of the confederacy. The greateſt part of the ſenate, his own private friends and dependents, together with all thoſe who expected to make their fortunes in his cauſe, agreed to follow him. Being in no capacity to reſiſt Cæſar at Rome, he reſolved to lead his forces to Capua, where he commanded the two legions that ſerved under Cæſar in Gaul.

Cæſar, in the mean time, after having vainly attempted to bring Pompey to an accommodation, reſolved to purſue him into Capua before he could collect his forces. Accordingly, he marched on to take poſſeſſion of the cities that lay between him and his rival, not regarding Rome, which he knew would fall of courſe to the conqueror.

Corfinium was the firſt city that attempted to ſtop the rapidity of his march. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the ſenate to ſucceed him in Gaul, and was garriſoned by twenty cohorts which were levied in the countries adjacent; Cæſar, however, quickly inveſted it; and, though Domitius ſent frequently to Pompey, exhorting him to come and raiſe the ſiege, he was at laſt obliged to endeavour to eſcape privately. His intentions happened to be divulged, the garriſon were reſolved to conſult their own ſafety by delivering him up to the beſiegers. Cæſar readily accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering into the town. After ſome time, Lentulus the conſul, who was one of the beſieged, came out to implore forgiveneſs for himſelf and the reſt of his confederates, putting Cæſar in mind of their ancient friendſhip, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. To this Cæſar, who would not wait the concluſion of his ſpeech, generouſly replied, that he came into Italy not to injure the

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liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to reſtore them. This humane reply being quickly carried into the city, the ſenators, and the knights, with their children and ſome officers of the garriſon, came out to claim the conqueror's protection, who, juſt glancing at their ingratitude, gave them their liberty, with permiſſion to go whereſoever they ſhould think proper. But while he diſmiſſed the leaders, he, upon this, as upon all other occaſions, took care to attach the common ſoldiers to his own intereſt, ſenſible that he might ſtand in need of an army; but that, while he lived, his army could never ſtand in need of a commander.

Pompey, who was unable to continue in Rome, having intelligence of what paſſed on this occaſion, immediately retreated to Brunduſium, where he reſolved to ſtand a ſiege to retard the enemy until the forces of the empire ſhould be united to oppoſe him. His aim in this ſucceeded to his wiſh; and after having employed Cæſar for ſome time in a fruitleſs ſiege, he privately paſſed his forces over to Dyracchium, where the conſul had levied a body of forces for his aſſiſtance. However, though he made good his eſcape, he was compelled to leave the whole kingdom of Italy at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army that had ſtrength to oppoſe his progreſs.

Cæſar finding he could not follow Pompey for want of ſhipping, went back to Rome to take poſſeſſion of the public treaſures, which his opponent, by a moſt unaccountable overſight, had neglected taking with him. However, upon his coming up to the door of the treaſury, Metellus, the tribune, who guarded it, refuſed to let him paſs; but Cæſar, with more than uſual emotion, laying his hand upon his ſword, threatened to ſtrike him dead: "And know, young man, cried "he, that it is eaſier to do this than to ſay it." This menace had its effect; Metellus retired, and Cæſar took out of the treaſury, to the amount of three thouſand pound weight of gold, beſides an immenſe quantity of ſilver.

Having thus provided for continuing the war, he departed from Rome, reſolved to ſubdue Pompey's lieu-

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tenants, Afranius and Petreius, who had been long i Spain at the head of a veteran army, compoſed of th choiceſt legions of the empire, who had been ever victorious under all its commanders. Cæſar, however, who knew the abilities of its two preſent generals, jocoſely ſaid, as he was preparing to go thither, that he went to fight an army without a general; and upon conquering it, would return to fight a general without an army.

The firſt conflict which he had with Afranius and Petreius was rather unfavourable. It was fought near the city of Herda, and both ſides claimed the honour of the victory. But by various ſtratagems he reduced them at laſt to ſuch extremity of hunger and drought that they were obliged to yield at diſcretion. Clemency was his favourite virtue; he diſmiſſed them all with the kindeſt profeſſions; and ſent them home to Rome laden with ſhame and obligations to publiſh his virtues, and confirm the affections of his adherents. Thus in the ſpace of about forty days, he became maſter of all Spain, and returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens upon this occaſion received him with freſh demonſtrations of joy, and created him dictator and conſul; but the firſt of theſe offices he laid down after he had held it eleven days.

While Cæſar was thus employed, Pompey was equally active in making preparations in Epirus and Greece to oppoſe him. All the monarchs of the Eaſt had declared in his favour, and ſent very large ſupplies. He was maſter of nine effective Italian legions, and had a fleet of five hundred large ſhips under the conduct of Bibulus, an active and experienced commander. Added to theſe, he was ſupplied with large ſums of money, and all the neceſſaries for an army, from the tributary provinces round him. He had attacked Anthony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæſar in that part of the empire with ſuch ſucceſs, that the former was obliged to fly, and the latter was taken priſoner.—Crowds of the diſtinguiſhed citizens and nobles from Rome came every day to join him. He had at one time above two hundred ſenators in his camp, among

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whom were Cicero and Cato, whose approbation of his cause was equivalent to an army.

Notwithstanding these preparations, Cæsar shipped off five of his twelve legions at Brundusium, and, weighing anchor, fortunately steered through the midst of his enemies, timing it so well that he made his passage in one day. Still, however, convinced that the proper time for making proposals for a peace was after gaining an advantage, he sent one Rufus, whom he had taken prisoner, to effect an accommodation with Pompey, offering to refer all to the senate and people of Rome; but Pompey once more rejected the overture, holding the people of Rome too much in Cæsar's interest to be relied on.

Pompey had been raising supplies in Macedonia, when first informed of Cæsar's landing upon the coasts of Epirus: he now therefore resolved immediately to march to Dyracchium, in order to cover that place from Cæsar's attempts, as all his ammunition and provisions were deposited there. The first place that both armies came in sight of each other was on the opposite banks of the river Apsus; and as both were commanded by the two greatest generals then in the world, the one renowned for his conquest of the East, the other celebrated for his victories over the Western parts of the empire, a battle was eagerly desired by the soldiers on either side: But neither general was willing to hazard it upon this occasion; Pompey could not rely upon his new levies, and Cæsar would not venture an engagement till he was joined by the rest of his forces.

Cæsar had now waited some time with extreme impatience for the coming up of the remainder of his army, and even ventured out alone in an open fisher boat to hasten its arrival, but he was driven back by a storm. However, his disappointment was soon relieved, by an information of the landing of the troops he had long expected at Appollonia, from whence they were approaching, under the conduct of Anthony and Calenus, to join him; he therefore decamped in order to meet them, and prevent Pompey with his army from engaging them on their march, as he lay on that side

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of the river, where the ſuccours had been obliged to come on ſhore.

Pompey being compelled to retreat, led his forces to Aſparagus, nigh Dyracchium, where he was ſure of being ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for his army by the numerous fleets which he employed along the coaſts of Epirus: there he pitched his camp upon a tongue of land (as mariners expreſſed it) that juttted into the ſea, where alſo was a ſmall ſhelter for ſhips, where few winds could annoy them: in this place, being moſt advantageouſly ſituated, he immediately began to entrench his camp: which Cæſar perceiving, and finding that he was not likely ſoon to quit ſo advantageous a poſt, began to entrench alſo behind him. And as all beyond Pompey's camp, towards the land ſide, was hilly and ſteep, he built redoubts upon the hills, ſtretching round from ſhore to ſhore, and then cauſed lines of communication to be drawn from hill to hill, by which he blocked up the camp of the enemy. He hoped by this blockade to force his opponent to a battle, which he ardently deſired, and which the other with equal induſtry declined. Thus both ſides continued for ſome time employed in deſigns and ſtratagems, the one to annoy and the other to defend.—Cæſar's men daily carried on their works to ſtraiten the enemy; thoſe of Pompey did the ſame to enlarge themſelves, having the advantage of numbers, and ſeverely galled the enemy by their ſlingers and archers. Cæſar, however, was indefatigable; he cauſed blinds or mantles to be made of ſkins of beaſts, to cover his men while at work; he cut off all the water that ſupplied the enemy's camp, and forage from the horſes, ſo that there remained no more ſubſiſtance for them. But Pompey at laſt reſolved to break through his lines, and gain ſome other part of the country more convenient for encampment. Accordingly, having informed himſelf of the condition of Cæſar's fortifications from ſome deſerters who came over to him, he ordered his light infantry and archers on board his ſhips, with directions to attack Cæſar's entrenchments by ſea, where they were leaſt defended. This was done with ſuch effect,

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that though Cæsar and his officers used their utmost endeavours to hinder Pompey's designs, yet, by means of reiterated attempts, he at last effected his purpose of extricating his army from his former camp, and of encamping in another place by the sea, where he had the conveniency of forage and shipping also. Cæsar, being thus frustrated in his views of blocking up the enemy, and perceiving the loss he had sustained, resolved at last to force Pompey to a battle, though upon disadvantageous terms. The engagement began by attempting to cut off a legion which was posted in a wood and this brought on a general battle. The conflict was for some time carried on with great ardour, and with equal fortune; but Cæsar's army being entangled in the intrenchments of the old camps lately abandoned, began to fall into disorder; upon which Pompey pressing his advantage, they at last fled with great precipitation. Great numbers perished in the trenches and on the banks of the river, or were pressed to death by their fellows. Pompey pursued his successes to the very camp of Cæsar; but either surprised with the suddenness of his victory, or fearful of an ambuscade, he withdrew his troops into his own camp, and thus lost an opportunity of securing his victory.

After this defeat, which was by no means decisive, Cæsar marched, with all his forces united into one body, directly to Gomphi, a town in the province of Thessaly. But the news of his defeat at Dyracchium had reached this place before him; the inhabitants therefore, who had before promised him obedience, now changed their minds; and, with a degree of baseness equal to their imprudence, shut their gates against him. Cæsar was not to be injured with impunity; wherefore, having represented to his soldiers the great advantage of forcing a place so very rich, he ordered the machines for scaling to be got ready; and causing an assault to be made, proceeded with such vigour, that, notwithstanding the great height of the walls, the town was taken in a few hours time. Cæsar left it to be plundered; and, without delaying his march, went forward to Metropolis, another town of the same province, which

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yielded at his approach. By this means he soon became poſſeſſed of all Theſſaly, except Lariſſa, which was garriſoned by Scipio with his legion, who commanded for Pompey. During this interval, Pompey's officers continually ſoliciting their commander to come to a battle, and inceſſantly teaſing him with importunities to engage, he at length reſolved to renounce his own judgment, in compliance with thoſe about him, and to give up all ſchemes of prudence for thoſe dictated by avarice and paſſion. Wherefore, advancing into Theſſaly within a few days after the taking of Gomphi, he drew down upon the plains of Pharſalia, where he was joined by Scipio, his lieutenant, with the troops under his command. There he waited the coming up of Cæſar, reſolved upon engaging, and upon deciding the fate of the kingdom at a ſingle battle.

Cæſar had employed all his art for ſome time in ſounding the inclinations of his men; and finding his army once more reſolute and vigorous, he cauſed them to advance towards the plains of Pharſalia, where Pompey was now encamped, and prepared to oppoſe him.

The approach of theſe two great armies, compoſed of the beſt and braveſt troops in the world, together with the greatneſs of the prize for which they contended, filled all minds with anxiety, though with different expectations. Pompey's army, being moſt numerous, turned all their thoughts to the enjoyment of the victory; Cæſar's, with better aims, conſidered only the means of obtaining it: Pompey's army depended upon their numbers and their many generals; Cæſar's upon their own diſcipline, and the conduct of their ſingle commander: Pompey's partizans hoped much from the juſtice of their cauſe; Cæſar's alledged the frequent propoſals which they had made for peace without effect. Thus the views, hopes, and motives of both ſeemed different, but their hatred and ambition were the ſame. Cæſar, who was ever foremoſt in offering battle, led out his army in array to meet the enemy; but Pompey, either ſuſpecting his troops, or dreading the event, kept his advantageous ſituation for ſome time: he drew indeed ſometimes out of his camp, but always kept him-

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ſelf under his trenches, at the foot of the hill near which he was poſted. Cæſar, being unwilling to attack him at a diſadvantage, reſolved to decamp the next day, hoping to harraſs out his antagoniſt, who was not a match for him in ſuſtaining the fatigues of duty.—Accordingly, the order for marching was given, and the tents ſtruck, when word was brought him that Pompey's army had quitted their entrenchments, and had advanced farther into the plain than uſual, ſo that he might engage them at leſs diſadvantage: whereupon he cauſed his troops that were upon their march to halt, and with a countenance of joy informed them that the happy time was at laſt come, which they had ſo long wiſhed for, and which was to crown their glory and terminate their fatigues. Upon this he drew up his troops in order, and advanced towards the place of battle.—His forces did not amount to above half thoſe of Pompey, the army of the one amounting to above forty-five thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe; that of the other not exceeding twenty-two thouſand foot and about a thouſand horſe. This diſproportion, particularly in the cavalry, had filled Cæſar with apprehenſions, wherefore he had ſome days before picked out the ſtrongeſt and nimbleſt of his foot-ſoldiers, and accuſtomed them to fight between the ranks of his cavalry.—By their aſſiſtance his thouſand horſe was a match for Pompey's ſeven thouſand, and had actually got the better in a ſkirmiſh that happened between them ſome days before.

Pompey, on the other hand had ſtrong expectations of ſucceſs; he boaſted, that he could put Cæſar's legions to flight without ſtriking a ſingle blow; preſuming, that, as ſoon as the armies formed, his cavalry, on which he placed his greateſt expectations, would outflank and ſurround the enemy. Labeinus commended this ſcheme of Pompey; alledging alſo, that the preſent troops, of which Cæſar's army was compoſed, were but the ſhadow of thoſe old legions that had fought in Britain and Gaul; that all the veterans were worn out, and had been replaced by new levies made in a hurry in Ciſalpine Gaul. To encreaſe the confidence

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of the army ſtill more, he took an oath, which the reſt followed him in, never to return to the camp but with victory. In this diſpoſition, and under theſe advantageous circumſtances, Pompey led his troops to battle.

Pompey's order of battle was good and well judged. In the centre, and on the two flanks, he placed all his veterans, and diſtributed his new-raiſed troops between the wings and the main body. The Syrian legions were placed in the centre, under the command of Scipio; the Spaniards, on whom he greatly relied, were put on the right under Domitius Ænobarbus, and on the left were ſtationed the two legions which Cæſar had reſtored in the beginning of the war, led on by Pompey himſelf; becauſe from thence he intended to make the attack which was to gain the day; and for the ſame reaſon he had there aſſembled all his horſe, ſlingers, and archers, of which his right wing had no need, being covered by the river Enipius. Cæſar likewiſe divided his army into three bodies under three commanders; Domitius Calvinus being placed in the centre, and Mark Anthony on the left, while he himſelf led on the right wing, which was to oppoſe the left commanded by Pompey. It is remarkable enough that Pompey choſe to put himſelf at the head of thoſe troops which were diſciplined and inſtructed by Cæſar, an inconteſtible proof how much he valued them above any of the reſt of his army. Cæſar on the contrary, placed himſelf at the head of his tenth legion, that had owed all its merit and fame to his own training. As he obſerved the enemy's numerous cavalry to be all drawn to one ſpot, he gueſſed at Pompey's intention; to obviate which he made a draught of ſix cohorts from his rear line, and forming them into a ſeparate body, concealed them behind his right wing, with inſtructions not to throw their javelins on the approach of Pompey's horſe, as was cuſtomary, but to keep them in their hands, and puſh them directly in the faces and the eyes of the horſemen, who being compoſed of the younger part of the Roman nobility, valued themſelves much upon their beauty, and dreaded a ſcar in the face more than a wound in the body. He, laſtly, placed the ca-

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valry he had ſo as to cover the right of the tenth legion, ordering his third line not to march till they had received the ſignal from him.

As the armies approached, the two generals went from rank to rank encouraging their men, warming their hopes and leſſening their apprehenſions. Pompey repreſented to his men, that the glorious occaſion which they had long beſought him to grant was now before them: "And indeed," cried he, "what advan-"tages could you wiſh over an enemy that you are not "now poſſeſſed of? Your numbers, your vigour, a "late victory, all aſſure a ſpeedy and an eaſy conqueſt "of thoſe harraſſed and broken troops, compoſed of "men worn out with age, and impreſt with terrors of "a recent defeat; but there is ſtill a ſtronger bulwark "for our protection than the ſuperiority of our "ſtrength, the juſtice of our cauſe. You are engaged "in the defence of liberty, and of your country; you "are ſupported by its laws, and followed by its ma-"giſtrates; you have the world ſpectators of your con-"duct, and wiſhing you ſucceſs: on the contrary, he "whom you oppoſe is a robber and oppreſſor of his "country, and almoſt already ſunk with the conſci-"ouſneſs of his crimes, as well as the bad ſucceſs of "his arms. Shew then, on this occaſion, all that ar-"dour and deteſtation of tyranny that ſhould animate "Romans and do juſtice to mankind." Cæſar, on his ſide, went among his men with that ſteady ſerenity for which he was ſo much admired in the midſt of danger. He inſiſted on nothing ſo ſtrongly to his ſoldiers as his frequent and unſucceſsful endeavours for peace. He talked with terror of the blood he was going to ſhed, and pleaded only the neceſſity that urged him to it.—He deplored the many brave men that were to fall on both ſides, and the wounds of his country, whoever ſhould be victorious. His ſoldiers anſwered his ſpeech with looks of ardour and impatience; which obſerving, he gave the ſignal to begin. The word on Pompey's ſide, was Hercules the invincible, that on Cæſar's, Venus the victorious. There was only ſo much ſpace between both armies as to give room for fight,

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ing; wherefore Pompey ordered his men to receive the firſt ſhock without moving out of their places, expecting the enemy's ranks to be put into diſorder by their motion. Cæſar's ſoldiers were now ruſhing on with their uſual impetuoſity, when, perceiving the enemy motionleſs, they all ſtopt ſhort as if by general conſent, and halted in the midſt of their career. A terrible pauſe enſued, in which both armies continued to gaze upon each other with mutual terror and dreadful ſerenity: at length Cæſar's men having taken breath ran furiouſly upon the enemy, firſt diſcharging their javelins, and then drawing their ſwords. The ſame method was obſerved by Pompey's troops, who as vigorouſly ſuſtained the attack. His cavalry alſo were ordered to charge at the very onſet, which, with the multitude of archers and ſlingers, ſoon obliged Cæſar's men to give ground; whereupon Cæſar immediately ordered the ſix cohorts that were placed as a reinforcement to advance, with orders to ſtrike at the enemy's faces. This had its deſired effect; the cavalry that were but juſt now ſure of victory received an immediate check; the unuſual method of fighting purſued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the viſages of the aſſailants, and the horrible diſfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to intimidate them ſo much, that, inſtead of defending their perſons, their only endeavour was to ſave their faces. A total rout enſued of their whole body, which fled in great diſorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and ſlingers who were thus abandoned were cut to pieces. Cæſar now commanded the cohorts to purſue their ſucceſs, and advancing, charged Pompey's troops upon the flank: this charge the enemy withſtood for ſome time with great bravery, till he brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked in front by freſh troops, and in rear by the victorious cohorts, could no longer reſiſt but fled to their camp. The flight began among the ſtrangers, though Pompey's right wing ſtill valiantly maintained their ground. Cæſar, however, being convinced that the victory was certain, with his

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uſual clemency cried out to purſue the ſtrangers, but to ſpare the Romans; upon which they all laid down their arms and received quarter. The greateſt ſlaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all quarters, but principally went for ſafety to the camp.—The battle had now laſted from the break of day till noon, the weather being extremely hot; nevertheleſs the conquerors did not remit their ardour, being encouraged by the example of their general, who thought his victory not complete till he was maſter of the enemy's camp. Accordingly, marching on foot at their head, he called upon them to follow and ſtrike the deciſive blow. The cohorts, which were left to defend the camp, for ſome time made a formidable reſiſtance, particularly a great number of Thracians and other barbarians who were appointed for its defence: but nothing could reſiſt the ardour of Cæſar's victorious army; they were at laſt driven from their trenches, and all fled to the mountains not far off. Cæſar, ſeeing the field and camp ſtrewed with his fallen countrymen was ſtrongly affected at ſo melancholy a proſpect, and could not help crying out to one that ſtood near him, "They would have it ſo." Upon entering the enemy's camp, every object preſented freſh inſtances of the blind preſumption and madneſs of his adverſaries; on all ſides were to be ſeen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and ſide boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the higheſt luxury, and ſeemed rather the preparatives for a banquet, the rejoicings for a victory, than the diſpoſitions for a battle. A camp ſo richly furniſhed might have been able to engage the attention of any troops but Cæſar's; there was ſtill ſomething to be done, and he would not permit them to purſue any other object than their enemies till they were entirely ſubdued. A conſiderable body of theſe having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his ſoldiers to join him in the purſuit in order to oblige theſe to ſurrender. He began by incloſing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a poſt which was not tenable for want of

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water, and endeavoured to reach the city of Lariſſa.—Cæſar led a party of his army by a ſhorter way, and intercepted their retreat, drawing up in order of battle between them and the city. However, theſe unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which a rivulet ran, which ſupplied them with water. Now night approaching, Cæſar's men were almoſt ſpent, and ready to faint with their inceſſant toil ſince morning, yet ſtill he prevailed upon them once more to renew their labours, and to cut off the rivulet that ſupplied the defendants. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of ſuccour or ſubſiſtance, ſent deputies to the conqueror, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion. During this interval of negociation, a few ſenators that were among them took the advantage of the night to eſcape, and the reſt next morning gave up their arms, and experienced the conqueror's clemency. In fact, he addreſſed them with great gentleneſs, and forbade his ſoldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them. Thus Cæſar, by his conduct, gained the moſt complete victory that had ever been obtained; and by his great clemency after the battle ſeemed to have deſerved it. His loſs amounted to but two hundred men, and that of Pompey to fifteen thouſand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twenty-four thouſand men ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, and the greateſt part of theſe entered into Cæſar's army, and were incorporated with the reſt of his forces. As to the ſenators and Roman knights who fell into his hands, he generouſly gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper: and as for the letters which Pompey had received from ſeveral perſons who wiſhed to be thought neutral, he burnt them all without reading them, as Pompey had done upon a former occaſion. Thus having performed all the duties of a general and a ſtateſman, he ſent for the legions which had paſſed the night in the camp, to relieve thoſe which had accompanied him in the purſuit, and arrived the ſame day at Lariſſa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly ſhewn ſuch inſtances of courage and conduct, when he ſaw his caval-

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ry routed, on which he had placed his ſole dependence, he abſolutely loſt his reaſon. Inſtead of thinking how to remedy this diſorder by rallying ſuch troops as fled, or by oppoſing freſh troops to ſtop the progreſs of the conquerors, being totally amazed by this firſt blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the iſſue of an event, which it was his duty to direct, not to follow: there he remained for ſome moments without ſpeaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What," ſays he, "are we purſued to our very en-"trenchments?" and immediately quitting his armour for a habit more ſuitable to his circumſtances, he fled away on horſeback to Lariſſa; from whence, perceiving he was not purſued, he ſlackened his pace, giving way to all the agonizing reflections which his deplorable ſituation muſt naturally ſuggeſt. In this melancholy manner he paſſed along the vale of Tempe, and purſuing the river Peneus, at laſt arrived at a fiſherman's hut, in which he paſſed the night. From thence he went on board a little bark, and keeping along the ſea ſhore, he deſcried a ſhip of ſome burthen, which ſeemed preparing to ſail, in which he embarked, the maſter of the veſſel ſtill paying him the homage which was due to his former ſtation. From the mouth of the river Peneus he ſailed to Amphipolis, where, finding his affairs deſperate, he ſteered to Leſbos to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there at a diſtance from the dangers and hurry of the war. She, who had long flattered herſelf with the hopes of victory, felt the reverſe of her fortune in an agony of diſtreſs; ſhe was deſired by the meſſenger, whoſe tears more than words proclaimed the greatneſs of her misfortunes, to haſten, if ſhe expected to ſee Pompey, with but one ſhip, and even that not his own: her grief, which before was violent, became then unſupportable; ſhe fainted away, and lay a conſiderable time without any ſigns of life. At length recovering herſelf, and reflecting it was now no time for vain lamentations, ſhe ran quite through the city to the ſea-ſide. Pompey embraced her without ſpeaking a word, and for ſome time ſupported her in his arms in ſilent deſpair.

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Having taken in Cornelia, he now continued his courſe, ſteering to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſtopping no longer than was neceſſary to take in proviſions at the ports that occurred in his paſſage. He was at laſt prevailed upon to apply to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, to whoſe father Pompey had been a conſiderable benefactor.—Ptolemy, who was as yet a minor, had not the government in his own hands, but he and his kingdom were under the direction of Photinus, an eunuch, and Theodotus, a maſter of the art of ſpeaking. Theſe adviſed that Pompey ſhould be invited on ſhore, and there ſlain; and accordingly Achillas, the commander of the forces, and Septimius, by birth a Roman, and who had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's army, were appointed to carry their opinions into execution. Being attended by three or four more, they went into a little bark, and rowed off from land towards Pompey's ſhip that lay about a mile from the ſhore. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept at his departure, and having repeated two verſes of Sophocles, ſignifying, that he who truſts his freedom to a tyrant from that moment becomes a ſlave, gave his hand to Achillas, and ſtept into the bark, with only two attendants of his own. They had now rowed from the ſhip a good way; and, as during that time they all kept profound ſilence, Pompey, willing to begin the diſcourſe, accoſted Septimius, whoſe face he recollected, "Methinks, friend," cried he, "you and I were once "fellow-ſoldiers together." Septimius gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or inſtancing the leaſt civility. Pompey therefore took out a paper, on which he had minuted a ſpeech he intended to make to the king, and began reading it. In this manner they approached the ſhore; and Cornelia, whoſe concern had never ſuffered her to loſe ſight of her huſband, began to conceive hope, when ſhe perceived the people on the ſtrand crowding down along the coaſts as if willing to receive him: but her hopes were ſoon deſtroyed; for that inſtant, as Pompey roſe, ſupporting himſelf upon his freed man's arm, Septimius ſtabbed him in the back, and was inſtantly ſeconded by

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Achillas. Pompey perceiving his death inevitable, only diſpoſed himſelf to meet it with decency, and covering his face with his robe, without ſpeaking a word, with a ſigh reſigned himſelf to his fate. At this horrid ſight Cornelia ſhrieked ſo loud as to be heard to the ſhore; but the danger ſhe herſelf was in did not allow the mariners time to look on; they immediately ſet ſail, and the wind proving favourable, fortunately they eſcaped the purſuit of the Egyptian gallies. In the mean time, Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, cauſed it to be embalmed, the better to preſerve its features, deſigning it for a preſent to Cæſar. The body was thrown naked on the ſtrand, and expoſed to the view of all thoſe whoſe curioſity led them that way. However, his faithful freed man, Philip, ſtill kept near it: and when the crowd was diſperſed, he waſhed it in the ſea; and looking round for materials to burn it he perceived the wrecks of a fiſhing boat, of which he compoſed a pile. While he was thus piouſly employed, he was accoſted by an old Roman ſoldier who had ſerved under Pompey in his youth. "Who art "thou," ſaid he, "that art making theſe humble pre-"parations for Pompey's funeral?" Philip having anſwered, that he was one of his freed men. "Alas," replied the ſoldier, "permit me to ſhare in this honour "alſo: among all the miſeries of my exile it will be "my laſt ſad comfort, that I have been able to aſſiſt "at the funeral of my old commander, and touch the "body of the braveſt general that ever Rome produ-"ced." Both joined in giving the corpſe the laſt rites; and after this they collecting his aſhes, buried them under a little riſing earth, ſcraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inſcription: *He whose merits deserve a temple can now scarce find a tomb.*

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CHAP. XXI.

From the destruction of the Commonwealth to the establishment of the first emperor Augustus.

[U. C. 706.]

CÆSAR has been much celebrated for his fortune, and yet his abilities seem equal to his highest successes. He possessed many shining qualities, without the intermixture of any defect but that of ambition. His talents were such as would have rendered him victorious at the head of any army he commanded, and he would have governed in any republic that had given him birth. Having now gained a most complete victory, his successes only seemed to increase his activity, and inspire him with fresh resolution to face new dangers. He resolved therefore to pursue his last advantage, and follow Pompey to whatever country he should retire; convinced, that during his life he might gain new triumphs, but could never enjoy security.

Accordingly, losing no time, he set sail for Egypt, and arrived at Alexandria with about four thousand men; a very inconsiderable force to keep such a powerful kingdom under subjection. Upon his landing, the first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and soon after one of the murderer's came with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. But Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with such an horrid spectacle: he turned away from it with disgust; and, after a short pause, gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory, on the spot where he was murdered, and a temple near the place to Nemesis, who was the goddess that punished those that were cruel to men in adversity.

It should seem that the Egyptians by this time had some hopes of breaking off all alliance with the Romans, which they considered, as in fact it was, but a specious subjection. They first began to take offence

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at Cæsar's carrying the ensigns of Roman power before him as he entered the city. Photinus, the eunuch, also treated him with great disrespect, and even attempted his life. Cæsar, however, concealed his resentment till he had a force sufficient to punish his treachery; and sending privately for the legions which had been formerly enrolled for Pompey's service, as being the nearest to Egypt, he in the mean time pretended to repose an entire confidence in the king's minister, making great entertainments, and assisting at the conferences of the philosophers, who were in great numbers at Alexandria. However, he soon changed his manner, when he found himself in no danger from the minister's attempts; and declared, that, as being Roman consul, it was his duty to settle the succession of the Egyptian crown.

There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king, and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister, to whom, by the custom of the country, he also was married; and who, by his father's will, shared jointly in the succession. Not being contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but being opposed in her views by the Roman senate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, she was banished into Syria with Arsinoe, her younger sister. Cæsar gave her new hopes of aspiring to the kingdom, and sent to both her and her brother to plead their cause before him.—Photinus, the young king's guardian, disdained accepting this proposal, and backed his refusal by sending an army of twenty thousand men to besiege him in Alexandria. Cæsar bravely repulsed the enemy for some time; but finding the city of too great extent to be defended by so small an army as he then commanded, he retired to the palace which commanded the harbour, where he purposed to make his stand. Achillas, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and still aimed at making himself master of the fleet that lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, too well knew the importance of those ships in the hands of an enemy, and therefore burnt them all in

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ſpite of every effort to prevent him. He next poſſeſt himſelf of the iſle of Pharos, which was the key to the Alexandrian port; by which he was enabled to receive the ſupplies ſent him from all ſides; and in this ſituation he determined to withſtand the united force of all the Egyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra having heard of the preſent turn in her favour, reſolved to depend rather on Cæſar's favour for gaining the government than her own forces. But no arts, as ſhe juſtly conceived, were ſo likely to influence Cæſar as the charms of her perſon, which, though not faultleſs, were yet extremely ſeducing. She was now in the bloom of her youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the moſt enchanting addreſs ſhe joined the moſt harmonious voice. With all theſe accompliſhments ſhe poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambaſſadors of ſeven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to get at Cæſar, as her enemies were in poſſeſſion of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpoſe ſhe went on board a ſmall veſſel, and in the evening landed near the palace, where, being wrapt up in a coverlet, ſhe was carried by one Aſpolodorus into the very chamber of Cæſar. Her addreſs at firſt pleaſed him; her wit and underſtanding ſtill fanned the flame; but her careſſes, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to ſecond her claims.

While Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her ſiſter Arſinoe was alſo ſtrenuouſly engaged in the camp in purſuing a ſeparate intereſt. She had found means, by the aſſiſtance of one Ganymede, her confidant, to make a large diviſion in the Egyptian army in her favour; and ſoon after, by one of thoſe ſudden revolutions which are common in barbarian camps to this day, ſhe cauſed Achillas to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his ſtead, and to carry on the ſiege with greater vigour than before. Ganymede's principal effort was by letting in the ſea upon thoſe canals which ſupplied the

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palace with fresh water; but this inconvenience Cæsar remedied by digging a great number of wells. His next endeavour was to prevent the junction of Cæsar's twenty-fourth legion, which he twice attempted in vain. He soon after made himself master of a bridge which joined the isle of Pharos to the continent, from which post Cæsar was resolved to dislodge him. In the heat of the action some mariners, partly through curiosity, and partly ambition, came and joined the combatants; but, being seized with a panic, instantly fled, and spread a general terror through the army. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain, the confusion was past remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the sword in attempting to escape. Now, therefore, seeing the irremediable disorder of his troops, he retired to a ship in order to get to the palace that was just opposite; however, he was no sooner on board than great crowds entered at the same time with him; upon which, apprehensive of the ship's sinking he jumped into the sea, and swam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace, all the time holding his own commentaries in his left hand above water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their efforts to take the palace ineffectual, endeavoured at least to get their king out of Cæsar's power, as he had seized upon his person in the beginning of their disputes. For this purpose they made use of their customary arts of dissimulation, professing the utmost desire of peace, and only wanting the presence of their lawful prince to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar, who was sensible of their perfidy, nevertheless concealed his suspicions, and gave them their king, as he was under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy, however, the instant he was set at liberty, instead of promoting the peace, made every effort to give vigour to his hostilities.

In this manner Cæsar was hemmed in for some time by this artful and insidious enemy with all manner of difficulties against him; but he was at last relieved from this mortifying situation by Mithridates Perga-

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menus, one of his moſt faithful partizans, who came with an army to his aſſiſtance. This general, collecting a numerous army in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Peluſium, repulſed the Egyptian army with loſs, and at laſt, joining with Cæſar, attacked their camp with a great ſlaughter of the Egyptians: Ptolemy himſelf, attempting to eſcape on board a veſſel that was ſailing down the river, was drowned by the ſhip's ſinking; and Cæſar thus became maſter of all Egypt without any farther oppoſition. He therefore appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then but an infant, as joint governors, according to the intent of their father's will, and drove out Arſinoe with Ganymede into baniſhment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now for a while ſeemed to relax from the uſual activity of his conduct, captivated with the charms of Cleopatra.—Inſtead of quitting Egypt to go and quell the remains of Pompey's party, he there abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, paſſing whole nights in feaſting, and all the exceſſes of high wrought luxury, with the young queen. He even reſolved to attend her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly reprehended his conduct, and refuſed to be partners in ſo infamous an expedition.—Thus, at length, rouſed from his lethargy, he reſolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love; and to leave Cleopatra, (by whom he had a ſon who was afterwards named Ceſario) in order to oppoſe Pharnaces, the king of Boſphorus, who had made ſome inroads upon the dominions of Rome.

This prince, who was the ſon of the great Mithridates, being ambitious of recovering his father's dominions, ſeized upon Armenia, and Colchis, and overcame Domitius who had been ſent againſt him. Upon Cæſar's march to oppoſe him, Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general as at the ſtrength of his army, laboured by all the arts of negociation, to avert the impending danger. Cæſar, exaſperated at his crimes and ingratitude, at firſt diſſembled with the ambaſſadors, and, uſing all expedition, fell

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upon the enemy unexpectedly, and in a few hours obtained a speedy and complete victory. Pharnaces, attempted to take refuge in his capital, and was slain by one of his own commanders.—A just punishment for his former parricide. But Cæsar conquered him with so much ease, that, in writing to a friend at Rome, he expresst the rapidity of his victory in three words: "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" A man so accustomed to conquest thought a slight battle scarce worth a longer letter.

Cæsar having settled affairs in this part of the empire, as well as time would permit, embarked for Italy, where he arrived sooner than his enemies could expect, but not before his affairs there absolutely required his presence. He had been during his absence, created consul for five years, dictator for one year and tribune of the people for life. But Anthony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæsar so opportunely could appease. However, by his moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquility to the city, scarce making any distinction between those of his own and the opposite party. Having by gentle means restored his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, assisted by Juba king of Mauritania; and with his usual diligence landed with a small party in Africa, while the rest of his army followed him. Scipio coming to a battle soon after received a complete and final overthrow, with little or no loss on the side of the victor. Juba and Petreus his general killed each other in despair. Scipio, attempting to escape by sea into Spain, fell in among the enemy and was slain: so that, of all the generals of that undone party, Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man, whom no prosperity could elate, nor no misfortune depress, having retired into Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, had led the wretched remains of that defeat through burning deserts and tracts, infested with serpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica, which he had been left

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to defend. Still, however, in love with even the ſhew of Roman government, he had formed the principal citizens into a ſenate, and conceived a reſolution of holding out the town. But the enthuſiaſm of liberty ſubſiding among his followers, he was reſolved no longer to force men to be free who ſeemed naturally prone to ſlavery. He now therefore deſired ſome of his friends to ſave themſelves by ſea, and bade others to rely upon Cæſar's clemency; obſerving, that as to himſelf he was at laſt victorious. After his, ſupping cheerfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unuſual tenderneſs to his ſon and to all his friends. When he came into his bed-chamber he laid himſelf down and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the ſoul; and having read for ſome time, happening to caſt his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much ſurpriſed not to find his ſword there, which had been taken away by his ſon's order while they were at ſupper. Upon this, calling one of his domeſtics to know what was become of his ſword, and receiving no anſwer, he reſumed his ſtudies; but ſome time after called for his ſword again. When he had done reading, and perceiving nobody obeyed him in bringing his ſword, he called his domeſtics one after the other, and with a preremptory air demanded his ſword once more. His ſon came in ſoon after, and with tears beſought him in the moſt humble manner to change his reſolution; but receiving a ſtern reprimand, he deſiſted from his perſuaſions. His ſword being at length bro't him, he ſeemed ſatisfied; and cried out, "Now again I am maſter of myſelf." He then took up the book again, which he read twice over, and fell into a ſound ſleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freed men to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to ſerve them. The freed man aſſuring him that all was quiet, he was then ordered again to leave the room; and Cato was no ſooner alone than he ſtabbed himſelf with his ſword through the breaſt, but not with that force he intended; for the wound not diſpatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the ſame time overturned a table

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on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels pushed out through the wound. The physician who attended his family perceiving that his intestines were yet untouched, was for replacing them; but when Cato had recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he pushed the physician from him, and with a fierce resolution tore out his bowels and expired.

Upon the death of Cato, the war in Africa being completed, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome; and, as if he had abridged all his former triumphs only to increase the splendour of this, the citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and the number of countries he had subdued. It lasted four days: the first was for Gaul, the second for Egypt, the third for his victories in Asia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veteran soldiers, all scared with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general crowned with laurels and conducted him to the capitol. To every one of these he gave a sum equivalent to about an hundred and fifty pounds of our money, double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to the superior officers. The citizens also shared his bounty; to every one of which he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about two pounds sterling of ours. He after this entertained the people at about twenty thousand tables, treated them with the combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourse of spectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return for such benefits: they seemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unusual epithets of adulation for their great enslaver. He was created by a new title, *Magister Morum*, or master of the morals of the people: he received the title of Emperor, father of his country; his person was declared sacred; and in short,

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upon him alone were devolved for life all the great dignities of the ſtate. It muſt be owned, however, that ſo much power could never have been entruſted to better keeping. He immediately began his empire by repreſſing vice and encouraging virtue. He committed the power of judicature to the ſenators and the knights alone; and by many ſumptuary laws reſtrained the ſcandalous luxuries of the rich. He propoſed rewards to all ſuch as had many children, and took the moſt prudent methods of repeopling the city that had been exhauſted in the late commotions.

Having thus reſtored proſperity once more to Rome, he again found himſelf under a neceſſity of going into Spain to oppoſe an army which had been raiſed there under the two ſons of Pompey, and alſo Labienus, his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his uſual celerity, and arrived in Spain before the enemy thought him yet departed from Rome. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's ſons, profiting by their unhappy father's example, reſolved as much as poſſible to protract the war; ſo that the firſt operations of the two armies were ſpent in ſieges and fruitleſs attempts to ſurpriſe each other. At length Cæſar, after taking many cities from the enemy, and purſuing Pompey with unwearied perſeverance, at laſt compelled him to come to a battle upon the plains of Munda. Pompey drew up his men by break of day upon the declivity of an hill with great exactneſs and order. Cæſar drew up his men likewiſe in the plain below; and, after advancing a little way from his trenches, he ordered his men to make an halt, expecting the enemy to come down from the hill. This delay made Cæſar's ſoldiers begin to murmur, while Pompey's with full vigour poured down upon them, and a dreadful conflict enſued. The firſt ſhock was ſo dreadful, that Cæſar's men, who had hitherto been uſed to conquer, now began to waver. Cæſar was never in ſo much danger as now: he threw himſelf ſeveral times into the very throng of battle. "What," cried he, "are you going to give up your general, who is grown "grey in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys?" Upon this his tenth legion exerted themſelves with

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more than former bravery; and a party of horſe being detached by Labienus from the camp in the purſuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæſar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry inſtantly ſpread itſelf through both armies, exciting the one as much as it depreſſed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion preſſed forward, and a total rout ſoon enſued. Thirty thouſand men were killed on Pompey's ſide, among whom was Labienus, whom Cæſar ordered to be buried with the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius Pompey eſcaped with a few horſemen to the ſea ſide, but finding his paſſage intercepted by Cæſar's lieutenant, he was obliged to ſeek for a retreat in an obſcure cavern. He was quickly diſcovered by ſome of Cæſar's troops, who preſently cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus, however, concealed himſelf ſo well that he eſcaped all purſuit, and afterwards became very noted and formidable for his piracies to the people of Rome.

Cæſar by his laſt blow, ſubdued all his avowed enemies, and the reſt of his life was employed for the advantage of the ſtate. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings; he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, ſending colonies to both cities; he undertook to level ſeveral mountains in Italy, to drain the Pontine marſhes near Rome, and deſigned to cut through the iſthmus of Peloponneſus. Thus with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects and deſigns beyond the limits of the longeſt life; but the greateſt of all was his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, by which he deſigned to revenge the death of Craſſus, who having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, himſelf taken priſoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a puniſhment for his former avarice. From thence Cæſar intended to paſs through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia along the banks of the Caſpian ſea, then to open himſelf a way through the immeaſurable foreſts of Germany into Gaul, and ſo to return to Rome. Theſe were the aims of ambition; the jealouſy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

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Having been made perpetual dictator, and received from the ſenate accumulated honours, it began to be rumoured that he intended to make himſelf king, and though in fact he was poſſeſſed of the power, the people, who had an utter averſion to the name, could not bear his aſſuming the title. Whether he really deſigned to aſſume that empty honour muſt now forever remain a ſecret; but certain it is, that the unſuſpecting openeſs of his conduct marked ſomething like a confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by thoſe about him of the jealouſies of many perſons who envied his power, he was heard to ſay, that he had rather die once by treaſon than to live continually in apprehenſion of it. When adviſed by ſome to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for ſome time repoſed the greateſt confidence, he opened his breaſt all ſcared with wounds, ſaying, "Can you think Brutus "cares for ſuch poor pillage as this?" and being one night at ſupper, as his friends diſputed among themſelves what death was eaſieſt, he replied, that which was moſt ſudden and leaſt foreſeen. But to convince the world how little he had to apprehend from his enemies, he diſbanded his company of Spaniſh guards, which facilitated the enterprize againſt his life.

A deep conſpiracy was therefore laid againſt him, compoſed of no leſs than ſixty ſenators. They were ſtill the more formidable, as the generality of them were of his own party, who, having been raiſed above other citizens, felt more ſtrongly the weight of a ſingle ſuperior. At the head of this conſpiracy were Brutus, whoſe life Cæſar had ſpared after the battle of Pharſalia, and Caſſius who was pardoned ſoon after; both prætors for the preſent year. Brutus made it his chief glory to have been deſcended from that Brutus who firſt gave liberty to Rome. The paſſion for freedom ſeemed to have been tranſmitted with the blood of his anceſtors down to him. But though he deteſted tyranny, yet he could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the moſt ſignal benefits.

The conſpirators, to give a colour of juſtice to their proceedings, remitted the execution of their deſign to

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the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him; and the night preceding, he heard his wife Culpurnia lamenting in her sleep; and being awakened, she confessed to him that she dreamt of his being assassinated in her arms. These omens in some measure began to change his intentions of going to the senate, as he had resolved, that day; but one of the conspirators coming in prevailed upon him to keep his resolution, telling him of the reproach that would attend his staying at home till his wife had lucky dreams, and of the preparations that were made for his appearance. As he went along to the senate, a slave, who hastened to him with information of the conspiracy, attempted to come near him, but could not for the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, who had discovered the whole plot, delivered him a memorial containing the heads of the information; but Cæsar gave it with other papers, to one of his secretaries without reading, as was usual in things of this nature. Being at length entered the senate house, where the conspirators were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger; to whom he said, smiling, "Well, Spurina, the ides of March "are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "but they "are not yet over." As soon as he had taken his place the conspirators came near him, under pretence of saluting him: and Cimber, who was one of them, approached in a suppliant posture, pretending to sue for his brother's pardon, who had been banished by his order. All the conspirators seconded him with great earnestness; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the bottom of his robe, holding him so as to prevent his rising. This was the signal agreed on. Casca, who was behind, stabbed him, though slightly, in the shoulder. Cæsar instantly turned round, and, with the steel of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. However, all the conspirators were now alarmed; and, inclosing him round, he received a second stab from an unknown hand in the breast, while Cassius wounded him in the face. He still de-

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fended himself with great vigour, rushing among them, and throwing down such as opposed him, till he saw Brutus among the conspirators, who, coming up, struck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment Cæsar thought no more of defending himself: but looking upon this conspirator, cried out, "And you too, my son!" Then covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue, after receiving three and twenty wounds from hands which he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his benefits.

Cæsar was killed in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and about fourteen years after he began the conquest of the world. If we examine his history, we shall be equally at a loss whether most to admire his great abilities or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to say that from the beginning he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well known penetration, as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him: it is most probable, that, like all very successful men, he only made the best of every occurrence; and his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with humbler aims, he at last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarce any obstacle to oppose his designs. Such is the disposition of man, whose cravings after power are always most insatiable when he enjoys the greatest share. U. C. 710.

As soon as the conspirators had dispatched Cæsar, they all retired to the capitol, and guarded its accesses by a body of gladiators which Brutus had in pay.

The friends of the late dictator now began to find that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for satisfying their ambition under the veil of promoting justice. Of this number was Anthony, whom we have already seen acting as a lieutenant under Cæsar, and governing Rome in his absence. He was a man of moderate abilities and excessive vices,

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ambitious of power only, becauſe it gave his pleaſures a wider range to riot in, but ſkilled in war, to which he had been trained from his youth. He was conſul for this year, and reſolved, with Lepidus, who was fond of commotions like himſelf, to ſeize this opportunity of gaining that power which Cæſar had died for uſurping. Lepidus, therefore, took poſſeſſion of the Forum with a band of ſoldiers at his devotion; and Anthony, being conſul, was permitted to command them. Their firſt ſtep was to poſſeſs themſelves of all Cæſar's papers and money, and the next to convene the ſenate. Never had this auguſt aſſembly been convened upon ſo delicate an occaſion, as it was to determine whether Cæſar had been a legal magiſtrate or a tyrannical uſurper; and whether thoſe who killed him merited rewards or puniſhments. There were many of theſe who had received all their promotions from Cæſar, and had acquired large fortunes in conſequence of his appointments: to vote him an uſurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property; and yet to vote him innocent might endanger the ſtate. In this dilemma they ſeemed willing to reconcile extremes; wherefore they approved all the acts of Cæſar, and yet granted a general pardon to all the conſpirators.

This decree was very far from giving Anthony ſatisfaction, as it granted ſecurity to a number of men who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremoſt in oppoſing his ſchemes of reſtoring abſolute power. As therefore the ſenate had ratified all Cæſar's acts without diſtinction, he formed a ſcheme upon this of making him rule when dead as imperiouſly as he had done when living. Being, as was ſaid, poſſeſſed of Cæſar's books of accounts, he ſo far gained upon his ſecretary as to make him inſert whatever he thought proper. By theſe means great ſums of money, which Cæſar would never have beſtowed, were there diſtributed among the people; and every man who had any ſeditious deſigns againſt the government was there ſure of finding a gratuity. Things being in this ſituation, Anthony demanded of the ſenate that Cæſar's funeral obſequies ſhould be performed, which

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they could not decently forbid, as they had never declared him a tyrant: accordingly the body was brought forth into the Forum with the utmoſt ſolemnity; and Anthony, who charged himſelf with theſe laſt duties of friendſhip began his operations upon the paſſions of the people by the prevailing motives of private intereſt. He firſt read them Cæſar's will, in which he had left Octavius, his ſiſter's grandſon, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæſar, and three parts of his private fortune; and Brutus was to inherit in caſe of his death. The Roman people were left the gardens which he had on the other ſide of the Tyber; and every citizen in particular was to receive three thouſand ſeſterces; and unfolding Cæſar's bloody robe in ſight of the multitude, he took care they ſhould obſerve the number of ſtabs in it; then diſplayed an image, which to them appeared the body of Cæſar, all covered with wounds. They could no longer contain their indignation, but unanimouſly cried out for revenge, and ran with flaming brands from the pile to ſet fire to the conſpirators' houſes. In this rage of reſenting, meeting with one Cinna, whom they miſtook for another of the ſame name who was in the conſpiracy, they tore him in pieces. The conſpirators themſelves, however, being well guarded, repulſed the multitude with no great trouble; but perceiving the rage of the people, they thought it ſoon after ſafeſt to retire from the city.

In the mean time, Anthony, who had excited this flame, reſolved to make the beſt of the occaſion. But an obſtacle to his ambition ſeemed to ariſe from a quarter on which he leaſt expected it, namely, from Octavius Cæſar, afterwards called Auguſtus, who was the grand nephew and adopted ſon of Cæſar. A third competitor alſo for power appeared in Lepidus, a man of ſome authority and great riches at Rome. At firſt the ambition of theſe three ſeemed to threaten fatal conſequences to each other, but, uniting ſoon after in the common cauſe, they reſolved to revenge the death of Cæſar, and dividing all power among themſelves, formed what is called the ſecond Triumvirate.

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The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom was near Mutina, upon a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their meeting in a place where they could not fear any treachery; for, even in their union they could not divest themselves of mutual diffidence. Lepidus first entered, and finding all things safe, made the signal for the other two to approach. They embraced each other upon their first meeting; and Augustus began the conference, by thanking Anthony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death, who, being abandoned by his army, was taken as he was designing to escape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Anthony's command. They then entered upon the business that lay before them without any retrospection of the past. Their conference lasted for three days; and in this period they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. The result of which was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the space of five years; that Anthony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Augustus, Africa and the Mediterranean islands. As for Italy and the eastern provinces, they were to remain in common until their general enemy was entirely subdued; where, among other articles of union, it was agreed, that all their enemies should be destroyed, of which each presented a list. In these were comprised not only the enemies, but the friends of the Triumvirate, since the partizans of the one were often found among the oppofers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Anthony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius, and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero, who was assassinated shortly after by Anthony's command.

In the mean time, Brutus and Cassius, the principal of the conspirators against Cæsar, being compelled to quit Rome, went into Greece, where they persuaded the Roman students at Athens to declare in the cause of freedom. Then parting, the former raised a powerful army in Macedonia and the adjacent countries,

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while the latter went into Syria, where he ſoon became maſter of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent Dolabella to ſuch ſtraits as to kill himſelf. Both armies ſoon after joining at Smyrna, the ſight of ſuch a formidable force began to revive the declining ſpirits of the party, and to reunite the two generals ſtill more cloſely, between whom there had been ſome time before a ſlight miſunderſtanding. In ſhort, having quitted Italy like diſtreſſed exiles, without having one ſingle ſoldier or one town that owned their command, they now found themſelves at the head of a flouriſhing army furniſhed with all the neceſſaries for carrying on the war, and in a condition to ſupport a conteſt where the empire of the world depended on the event. This ſucceſs in raiſing levies was entirely owing to the juſtice, moderation, and great humanity of Brutus, who in every inſtance, ſeemed ſtudious of the happineſs of his country and not his own.

It was in this flouriſhing ſtate of their affairs that the conſpirators had formed a reſolution of going againſt Cleopatra, who had made great preparations to aſſiſt their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpoſe, by an information that Auguſtus and Anthony were now upon their march with forty legions to oppoſe them. Brutus therefore moved to have their army paſs over into Greece and Macedonia, and there meet the enemy; but Caſſius ſo far prevailed as to have the Rhodians and Lycians firſt reduced, who had refuſed their uſual contributions. This expedition was immediately put in execution, and extraordinary contributions were raiſed by that means, the Rhodians having ſcarce any thing left them but their lives.—The Lycians ſuffered ſtill more ſeverely; for, having ſhut themſelves up in the city of Xanthius, they defended the place againſt Brutus with ſuch fury, that neither his arts nor entreaties could prevail upon them to ſurrender. At length, the town being ſet on fire by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus, inſtead of laying hold of this opportunity to ſtorm the place, made every effort to preſerve it, entreating his ſoldiers to try all means of extinguiſhing

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the fire: but the desperate phrenzy of the citizens was not to be mollified. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy for the efforts which were made to save them, they resolved to perish in the flames. Wherefore instead of extinguishing, they did all in their power to augment the fire, by throwing in wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the distress of Brutus upon seeing the townsmen thus resolutely bent on destroying themselves: he rode about the fortifications, stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themselves and their city; but, insensible to his expostulations they rushed into the flames with desperate obstinacy, and the whole soon became an heap of undistinguishable ruin. At this horrid spectacle Brutus melted into tears, offering a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive. The number of those whom it was possible to save from their own fury amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty.

Brutus and Cassius met once more at Sardis, where, after the usual ceremonies were passed between them, they resolved to have a private conference together.—They shut themselves up therefore in the first convenient house, with express orders to their servants to give no admission. Brutus began, by reprimanding Cassius for having disposed of offices which should ever be the reward of merit, and for having overtaxed the tributary states. Cassius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterness, as he knew the charge to be groundless. The debate grew warm, till, from loud speaking they burst into tears. Their friends, who were standing at the door, overheard the increasing vehemence of their voices, and began to dread for the consequences, till Favonius, who valued himself upon a cynical boldness that knew no restraint, entering the room with a jest, calmed their mutual animosity. Cassius was ready enough to forego his anger, being a man of great abilities, but of uneven disposition; not averse to pleasure in private company; and, upon the whole, of morals not quite sincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An even gen-

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tleneſs, a noble elevation of ſentiment, a ſtrength of mind over which neither vice nor pleaſure could have any influence, an inflexible firmneſs in the defence of juſtice, compoſed the character of that great man.—After their conference, night coming on, Caſſius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment, where freedom and cheerfulneſs for a while took place of political anxiety, and ſoftened the ſeverity of wiſdom. Upon returning home, it was that Brutus, as Plutarch tells the ſtory, ſaw a ſpectre in his tent. He naturally ſlept but little, and he had increaſed this ſtate of watchfulneſs by habit and great ſobriety. He never allowed himſelf to ſleep in the day time, as was then common in Rome, and only gave ſo much of the night to ſleep as could barely renew the natural functions. But eſpecially now, when oppreſt with ſuch various cares, he only gave a ſhort time after his nightly repaſt to reſt; and, waking about midnight, generally read or ſtudied till morning. It was in the dead of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading by a lamp that was juſt expiring. On a ſudden he thought he heard a noiſe as if ſomebody entered, and looking towards the door he perceived it open. A gigantic figure, with a frightful aſpect, ſtood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with ſilent ſeverity. At laſt Brutus had courage to ſpeak to it: "Art thou a dæmon, or a "mortal man? and why comeſt thou to me?" "Bru-"tus," replied the phantom, "I am thy evil genius: "thou ſhalt ſee me again at Philippi." "Well then," anſwered Brutus, without being diſcompoſed, "we "ſhall meet again." Upon which the phantom vaniſhed, and Brutus calling to his ſervants, aſked if they had ſeen any thing? to which replying in the negative, he again reſumed his ſtudies. But as he was ſtruck with ſo ſtrange an occurrence, he mentioned it the next day to Caſſius, who, being an Epicurean, aſcribed it to the effect of an imagination too much exerciſed by vigilance and anxiety. Brutus appeared ſatisfied with this ſolution of his late terrors; and as Anthony and Auguſtus were now advanced into Macedonia, he and

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his colleague paſſed over into Thrace, and drew near to the city of Philippi, where the forces of the triumviri were poſted to receive them.

All mankind now began to regard the approaching armies with terror and ſuſpence. The empire of the world depended upon the fate of a battle; as, from victory on the one ſide, they had to expect freedom; but from the other, a ſovereign with abſolute command. Brutus was the only man who looked upon theſe great events before him with calmneſs and tranquility. Indifferent as to ſucceſs, and ſatisfied with having done his duty, he ſaid to one of his friends, "If I gain the "victory, I ſhall reſtore liberty to my country; if I "loſe it by dying, I ſhall be delivered from ſlavery "myſelf; my condition is fixed, and I run no ha-"zards." The republican army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. The army of the triumviri amounted to an hundred thouſand foot, and thirteen thouſand horſe. Thus complete on both ſides, they met and encamped near each other upon the plains of Philippi, a city upon the confines of Thrace. This city was ſituated upon a mountain, towards the weſt of which a plain ſtretched itſelf, by a gentle declivity, almoſt fifteen leagues to the banks of the river Strymon. In this plain, about two miles from the town, were two little hill sat about a mile diſtance from each other, defended on one ſide by mountains, on the other by a marſh, which communicated with the ſea. It was upon theſe two hills that Brutus and Caſſius fixed their camps: Brutus on the hill towards the north, Caſſius on that towards the ſouth; and in the intermediate ſpace which ſeparated them they caſt up lines and a parapet from one hill to the other. Thus they kept a firm communication between the two camps which mutually defended each other. In this commodious ſituation they could act as they thought proper, and give battle only when it was thought to their advantage to engage. Behind them was the ſea, which furniſhed them with all kinds of proviſions, and at twelve miles diſtance the iſland of Thaſos, which ſerved them for a general magazine. The triumviri,

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on the other hand, were encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to bring their provisions from fifteen leagues distance: so that their scheme and interest was to bring on a battle as soon as they could. This they offered several times, drawing out their men from their camp, and provoking the enemy to engage. On the contrary, these contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without descending to the plain. This resolution of postponing the battle was all that the republican army had for it; and Cassius, who was aware of his advantage, resolved to harass the enemy rather than engage them. But Brutus began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers, so that he used all his influence to persuade Cassius to change his resolution. "I am impatient," said he, "to put an end to the miseries of mankind, and "in that I have hopes of succeeding whether I fall or "conquer." His wishes were soon gratified; for Anthony's soldiers having with great labour made a road through the marsh which lay to the left of Cassius's camp, by that means opened a communication with the island of Thasos, which lay behind them. Both armies, in attempting to possess themselves of this road, resolved at length to come to a general engagement. This however was contrary to the advice of Cassius, who declared that he was forced, as Pompey had formerly been, to expose the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a battle. The ensuing morning the two generals gave the signal for engaging, and conferred together, a little while before the battle began. Cassius desired to know how Brutus intended to act in case they were unsuccessful; to which the other replied, "That he had formerly in his writings condemned the "death of Cato, and maintained, that avoiding calamities by suicide was an insolent attempt against "Heaven that sent them; but he had now altered his "opinions, and, having given up his life to his country, he thought he had a right to his own way of "ending it; wherefore, he was resolved to change a "miserable being here, for a better hereafter, if fortune proved against him." "Well said, my friend,"

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cried Caſſius embracing him, "now we may venture to "face the enemy; for either we ſhall be conquerors "ourſelves, or we ſhall have no cauſe to fear thoſe "that are ſo." Auguſtus being ſick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded alone by Anthony, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Caſſius. Brutus, on the other ſide, made a dreadful irruption on the army of Auguſtus, and drove forward with ſo much intrepidity, that he broke them upon the very firſt charge. Upon this he penetrated as far as the camp, and cutting in pieces thoſe who were left for its defence, his troops immediately began to plunder; but in the mean time the lines of Caſſius were forced, and his cavalry put to flight. There was no effort that this unfortunate general did not uſe to make his infantry ſtand, ſtopping thoſe that fled, and ſeizing himſelf the colours to rally them. But his own valour alone was not ſufficient to inſpire his timorous army; wherefore, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he cauſed himſelf to be ſlain by one of his freed men. Brutus was ſoon informed of the defeat of Caſſius, and ſoon after of his death, as he drew near the camp. He ſeemed ſcarce able to reſtrain the exceſs of his grief for a man whom he called the laſt of the Romans.

But his firſt care, when he became the ſole general, was to aſſemble the diſperſed troops of Caſſius, and animate them with freſh hopes of victory. As they had loſt all they poſſeſſed by the plundering of their camp, he promiſed them two thouſand denarii each man to make up their loſſes. This once more inſpired them with new ardour; they admired the liberality of their general, and with loud ſhouts proclaimed his former intrepidity. Still, however, he had not confidence ſufficient to face the adverſary, who offered him battle the enſuing day. His aim was to ſtarve his enemies, who were in extreme want of proviſions, their fleet having been lately defeated. But his ſingle opinion was over-ruled by the reſt of his army, who now grew every day more confident of their ſtrength, and more arrogant to their new general. He was therefore, at laſt, after a reſpite of twenty days, obliged to comply

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with their ſolicitations to try the fate of the battle.—Both armies being drawn out, they remained a long while oppoſite to each other without offering to engage. But it is ſaid, that he himſelf had loſt much of his natural ardour by having ſeen a ſpectre the night preceding: however, he encouraged his men as much as poſſible, and gave the ſign for another battle. He had, as uſual, the advantage where he commanded in perſon, bearing down the enemy at the head of his infantry, and, ſupported by his cavalry, making a very great ſlaughter. But the troops which had belonged to Caſſius, communicating their terror to the reſt of the forces, at laſt the whole army gave way. Brutus, ſurrounded by the moſt valiant of his officers, fought for a long time with amazing valour. The ſon of Cato fell fighting by his ſide, as alſo the brother of Caſſius; ſo that at laſt he was obliged to yield to neceſſity, and fled. In the mean time, the two triumviri, now aſſured of victory, expreſsly ordered by no means to ſuffer the general to eſcape for fear he ſhould renew the war. Thus the whole body of the enemy ſeemed chiefly intent on Brutus alone, and his capture ſeemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, was reſolved by his own death to effect his general's delivery. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horſe cloſely purſuing Brutus, and juſt upon the point of taking him, he boldly threw himſelf in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with ſo great a prize, immediately diſpatched ſome of their companions with the news of their ſucceſs to the army. Upon which, the ardour of the purſuit now abating, Anthony marched out to meet his priſoner, and to haſten his death, or inſult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and ſoldiers, ſome ſilently deploring the fate of ſo virtuous a man; others reproaching that mean deſire of life for which he conſented to undergo captivity. Anthony now ſeeing the Thracians approach, began to prepare himſelf for the interview; but the faithful Lucilius, advancing with a chearful air, "It is not Bru-"tus," ſaid he, "that is taken; fortune has not yet

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"had the power of commiting so great an outrage up-
"on virtue. As for my life it is well spent in prefer-
"ving his honour; take it, for I have deceived you."
Anthony, struck with so much fidelity, pardoned him upon the spot; and from that time forward loaded him with benefits, and honoured him with his friendship.

In the mean time, Brutus, with a small number of friends, passed over a rivulet, and night coming on, sat down under a rock which concealed him from the pursuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a little time, and casting his eyes up to heaven, he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wish to the gods, "that guilt should not pass in this life without punish-
"ment." To this he added another from the same poet, "O Virtue! thou empty name, I have worshipped "thee as a real god, but thou art only the slave of "fortune." He then called to mind, with great tenderness, those whom he had seen perish in battle, and sent out one Statilius to give him some information of those that remained; but he never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horse. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now resolved to die likewise, and spoke to those who stood round him to lend him their last sad assistance. None of them, however, would render him so melancholy a service. He therefore called to one of his slaves to perform what he so ardently desired; but Strato, his tutor, offered himself, crying out, "That it should never be said that "Brutus, in his last extremity, stood in need of a slave "for want of a friend." Thus saying, and averting his head, he presented the sword's point to Brutus, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expired.

From the moment of Brutus's death, the triumviri began to act as sovereigns, and to divide the Roman dominions between them, as theirs by right of conquest. However, though there was apparently three who participated all power, yet in fact only two were actually possessed of it, since Lepidus was at first admitted merely to curb the mutual jealousy of Anthony and Augustus; and was possessed neither of interest in the army, nor authority among the people. Their first

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care was to punish those whom they had formerly marked for vengeance. Hortensius, Drusus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the first rank in the commonwealth, either killed themselves or were slain. A senator and his son were ordered to cast lots for their lives, but both refused it; the father voluntarily gave himself up to the executioner, and the son stabbed himself before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which Augustus replied, "That "he should find a grave in the vultures that devour-"ed him." But chiefly the people lamented to see the head of Brutus sent to Rome to be thrown at the foot of Cæsar's statue. His ashes, however, were sent to his wife Porcia, Cato's daughter, who, following the example of her husband and father, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. It is observed, that of all those who had a hand in the death of Cæsar not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus established upon the ruin of the commonwealth, they now began to think of enjoying that homage to which they had aspired. Anthony went into Greece to receive the flattery of that refined people, and spent some time at Athens, conversing among the philosophers, and assisting at their disputes in person. From thence he passed over into Asia, where all the monarchs of the East, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; while the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour by the greatness of their presents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a crowd of sovereigns, exacting contributions, distributing favours, and giving away crowns with capricious insolence. He presented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sysenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only because he found pleasure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the mother of the former. He settled Herod in the kingdom of Judea and supported him against every opposer. But among all the sovereigns of the East who shared his favours, none had so large a part as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

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It happened that Serapion, her governor in the island of Cyprus, had formerly furnished some succours to the conspirators; and it was thought proper that he should answer for his conduct on that occasion. Accordingly, having received orders from Anthony to come and clear herself of this imputation of infidelity, she readily complied, equally conscious of the goodness of her cause, and the power of her beauty. She was now in her twenty-seventh year, and consequently had improved those allurements by art, which, in earlier age, are seldom attended to. Her address and wit were still farther heightened, and though there were some women in Rome that were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the charms of seducing conversation. Anthony was now in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra resolved to attend his court in person. She sailed to meet him down the river Cydnus, at the mouth of which the city stood, with the most sumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold, the sails of purple, large and floating in the wind. The oars, of silver, kept time to the sound of flutes and cymbals. She herself lay reclined on a couch spangled with stars of gold, and with such ornaments as poets and painters had usually ascribed to Venus. On each side were boys like Cupids, who fanned her by turns; while the most beautiful nymphs, dress like Neriads and Graces, were placed at proper distances around her. Upon the banks of the river were kept burning the most exquisite perfumes, while an infinite number of people gazed upon the sight with a mixture of delight and admiration. Anthony was captivated with her beauty, and, leaving all his business to satisfy his passion, shortly after followed her into Egypt. There he continued in all that ease and softness to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to supply.

While he remained thus idle in Egypt, Augustus, who took upon him to lead back the veteran troops and settle them in Italy, was assiduously employed in providing for their subsistence. He had promised them lands at home as a recompence for their past services;

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but they could not receive their new grants without turning out the former inhabitants. In consequence of this, multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence excited universal compassion, daily filled the temples and the streets with their distresses. Numbers of husbandmen and shepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain an habitation in some other part of the world. Among this number was Virgil, the poet, to whom mankind owe more obligations than to a thousand conquerors, who in an humble manner, begged permission to retain his patrimonial farm. Virgil obtained his request, but the rest of his countrymen of Mantua and Cremona were turned out without mercy.

Italy and Rome now felt the most extreme miseries; the insolent soldiers plundered at will, while Sextus Pompey being master of the sea, cut off all foreign communication, and prevented the people's receiving their usual supplies of corn. To these mischiefs were added the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Anthony, who had been left behind him at Rome, had felt for some time all the rage of jealousy, and resolved to try every method of bringing back her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. She considered a breach with Augustus as the only probable means of rousing him from his lethargy; and accordingly, with the assistance of Lucius, her brother in law, who was then consul, and entirely devoted to her interest, she began to sow the seeds of dissention. The pretext was, that Anthony should have a share in the distribution of lands as well as Augustus. This produced negociations between them, and Augustus offered to make the veterans themselves umpires in the dispute. Lucius refused to acquiesce; and being at the head of more than six legions, mostly composed of such as were dispossessed, he resolved to compel Augustus to accept of whatsoever terms he should offer. Thus a new war was excited between Augustus and Anthony, or at least the generals of the latter assumed the sanction of his name. Augustus however, was victorious: Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and con-

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ſtrained to retreat to Peruſia, a city of Etruria, where he was cloſely beſieged by the oppoſite party. He made many deſperate ſallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him, but without ſucceſs. He was at laſt, therefore, reduced to ſuch extremity by famine, that he came out in perſon and delivered himſelf up to the mercy of the conqueror. Auguſtus received him very honorably, and generouſly pardoned him and all his followers.

Anthony having heard of his brother's overthrow, and his wife's being compelled to leave Italy, was reſolved to oppoſe Auguſtus without delay. He accordingly ſailed, at the head of a conſiderable fleet from Alexandria to Tyre, and from thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, and had an interview with Fulvia, his wife, at Athens. He much blamed her for occaſioning the late diſorders, teſtified the utmoſt contempt for her perſon, and leaving her upon her death-bed at Sycion, haſtened into Italy to fight Auguſtus. They both met at Brunduſium, and it was now thought that the flames of a civil war were going to blaze out once more. The forces of Anthony were numerous, but moſtly new raiſed; however, he was aſſiſted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in theſe oppoſitions of intereſt, was daily coming into power. Auguſtus was at the head of thoſe veterans who had always been irreſiſtable, but who ſeemed no way diſpoſed to fight againſt Anthony, their former general. A negotiation was therefore propoſed; and by the activity of Cocceius, a friend to both, a reconciliation was effected. All offences and affronts were mutually forgiven; and to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Anthony and Octavia, the ſiſter of Auguſtus. A new diviſion of the Roman empire was made between them; Auguſtus was to have the command of the Weſt, Anthony of the Eaſt, while Lepidus was obliged to content himſelf with the provinces in Africa. As for Sextus Pompeius, he was permitted to retain all the iſlands he had already poſſeſſed, together with Peloponneſus: he was alſo granted the privilege of demanding the conſulſhip in his abſence; and of diſcharging that office by any of his

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friends. It was likewiſe ſtipulated to leave the ſea open, and pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who expected a ceſſation from all their calamities.

This calm ſeemed to continue for ſome time: Anthony led his forces againſt the Parthians, over whom his lieutenant, Ventidius, had gained ſome advantages. Auguſtus drew the greateſt part of his army into Gaul, where there were ſome diſturbances; and Pompey went to ſecure his newly ceded province to his intereſt. It was on this quarter that freſh motives were given for renewing the war. Anthony, who was obliged by treaty to quit Peloponneſus, refuſed to evacuate it till Pompey had ſatisfied him for ſuch debts as were due to him from the inhabitants. This Pompey would by no means comply with, but immediately fitted out a new fleet, and renewed his former enterprizes, by cutting off ſuch corn and proviſions as were conſigned to Italy. Thus the grievances of the poor were again renewed, and the people began to complain, that, inſtead of three tyrants, they were now oppreſſed by four.

In this exigence, Auguſtus, who had long meditated the beſt means of diminiſhing the number, reſolved to begin by getting rid of Pompey, who kept the ſtate in continual alarm. He was maſter of two fleets; one which he had cauſed to be built at Ravenna, and another which Menodorus, who revolted from Pompey, brought to his aid. His firſt attempt was to invade Sicily; but being overpowered in his paſſage by Pompey, and afterwards ſhattered in a ſtorm, he was obliged to defer his deſigns to the enſuing year. During this interval, he was reinforced by a noble fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips, given him by Anthony, with which he reſolved once more to invade Sicily on three ſeveral quarters. But fortune ſeemed ſtill determined to oppoſe him. He was a ſecond time diſabled and ſhattered by a ſtorm, which ſo raiſed the vanity of Pompey, that he began to ſtyle himſelf the ſon of Neptune. However, Auguſtus was not to be intimidated by any diſgraces; for, having ſhortly refitted his navy,

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and recruited his forces, he gave the command of both to Agrippa, his faithful friend and associate in war. Agrippa proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him; he began his operations by a victory over Pompey; and though he was shortly after worsted himself, he soon after gave his adversary a complete and final overthrow. Thus undone, Pompey resolved to fly to Anthony, from whom he expected refuge, as he had formerly obliged that triumvir by giving protection to his mother. However, a gleam of hope offering, he tried once more, at the head of a small body of men, to make himself independent, and even surprised Anthony's lieutenants, who had been sent to accept of his submission. Nevertheless he was at last abandoned by his soldiers, and delivered up to Titus, Anthony's lieutenant, who shortly after caused him to be slain.

The death of this general moved one very powerful obstacle to the ambition of Augustus, and he resolved to take the earliest opportunity to get rid of the rest of his associates.

An offence soon after this was furnished by Lepidus, that served as a sufficient pretext to Augustus for depriving him of his share in the triumvirate. Being at the head of twenty-two legions, with a strong body of cavalry, he idly supposed that his present power was more than an equivalent to the popularity of Augustus. He therefore resolved upon adding Sicily, where he then was, to his province, pretending a right, as having first invaded it. Augustus sent to expostulate upon these proceedings, but Lepidus fiercely replied,—"That he was determined to have his share in the administration, and would no longer submit to let one alone possess all the authority." Augustus was previously informed of the disposition of Lepidus's soldiers; for he had by his secret intrigues and largesses, entirely attached them to himself. Wherefore, without further delay, he, with great boldness, went alone to the camp of Lepidus, and with no other assistance than his private bounties, and the authority he had gained by his former victories, deposed his rival. Lepidus was deprived of all his former authority, and banished to

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Circæum, where he continued the reſt of his life, deſpiſed by his friends, and to all a melancholy object of blaſted ambition.

There remained now but one obſtacle to his ambition, which was Anthony, whom he reſolved to remove, and for that purpoſe began to render his character as contemptible as he poſſibly could at Rome. In fact, Anthony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the endeavors of his ambitious partner. He had marched againſt the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return with the loſs of the fourth part of his forces, and all his baggage. However, Anthony ſeemed quite regardleſs of contempt: alive only to pleaſure, and totally diſregarding the buſineſs of the ſtate, he ſpent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who ſtudied every art to increaſe his paſſion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been ſo much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleaſure, and making trifles important: ſtill ingenious in filling up the languid pauſes of ſenſual delight with ſome new ſtroke of refinement, ſhe was at one time a queen, then a Bacchanal, and ſometimes an huntreſs. She invented a ſociety called the Inimitable; and thoſe of the court who made the moſt ſumptuous entertainments carried away the prize. Not contented with ſharing in her company all the delights which Egypt could afford, Anthony was reſolved to enlarge his ſphere of luxury, by granting her many of thoſe kingdoms which belonged to the Roman empire. He gave her all Phænicia, Celo Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judea, gifts which he had no right to beſtow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly at laſt totally exaſperated the Romans; and Auguſtus, willing to take the advantage of their reſentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people ſufficiently irritated againſt him, he reſolved to ſend Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Anthony, as if with a view of reclaiming her huſband; but, in fact, to furniſh a ſufficient pretext of declaring war againſt him, as he knew ſhe would be diſmiſſed with contempt.

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Anthony was now at the city of Leucoplis revelling with his infidious paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news as well to him as Cleopatra, who, fearing the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Anthony of the strength of her passion by her sighs, languishing looks, and well feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed as if willing to hide, and often entreated her to tell him the cause, which she seemed willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the ceaseless flattery and importunity of her creatures, prevailed so much upon Anthony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return home without seeing her; and still more to exasperate the people of Rome, he resolved to repudiate her, and take Cleopatra as his wife. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra. There he seated himself, dress like Bacchus, while Cleopatra sat beside him cloathed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already bestowed upon her; while he associated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar, as her partner in the government. To the two children which he had by her himself, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extensive dominions; and, to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome.

In the mean time, Augustus had now a sufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the senate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his design for a while, being then employed in quelling an insurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations against Anthony, who, perceiving his design, remonstrated to the senate that he had many causes of complaint against his colleague, who had seized upon Sicily without affording him a share: alledging that he had also dispossessed Lepidus, and kept to himself the province he had commanded;

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and that he had divided all Italy among his own soldiers, leaving nothing to recompence those in Asia.—To this complaint Augustus was contented to make a sarcastic answer, implying, that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy, when, Anthony having conquered Parthia, he might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. This sarcasm provoked him to send his army without intermission into Europe to meet Augustus, while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side, all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine sea, had orders to send him supplies both of men, provisions, and arms; on the other side, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and musicians of Greece, were ordered to attend him.

This delay at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, where he carried Cleopatra to receive new honours, was extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus, who was at first scarcely in a disposition to oppose him had he gone into Italy; but he soon found time to put himself in a condition for carrying on the war, and shortly after declared it against him in form. At length both sides found themselves in readiness to begin the war, and their armies were answerable to the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the East; the other drew all the strength of the West to support his pretensions. Anthony's force composed a body of an hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, while his fleet amounted to five hundred ships of war. The army of Augustus mustered but eighty thousand foot, but equalled his adversary in the number of cavalry: his fleet was but half as numerous as Anthony's; however, his ships were better built, and manned with better soldiers.

The great decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus at the entrance of the gulph of Ambracia. Anthony ranged his ships before the mouth of the gulph, and Augustus

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drew up his fleet in oppoſition. Neither general aſſumed any fixed ſtation to command in, but went about from ſhip to ſhip, wherever his preſence was neceſſary. In the mean time, the two land armies, on oppoſite ſides of the gulph, were drawn up, only as ſpectators of the engagement, and encouraged the fleets by their ſhouts to engage. The battle began on both ſides with great ardour; and after a manner not practiſed on former occaſions. The prows of their veſſels were armed with brazen points, and with theſe they drove furiouſly againſt each other. They fought for ſome time with great fury; nor was there any advantage on either ſide, except a ſmall appearance of diſorder in the centre of Anthony's fleet. But all of a ſudden Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was ſeen flying from the engagement, attended by ſixty ſail, ſtruck perhaps with the terrors natural to her ſex: but what increaſed the general amazement was, to behold Anthony himſelf following ſoon after, leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors; and the army at land ſoon after followed their example.

When Cleopatra fled, Anthony purſued her in a five oared galley, and, coming along ſide of her ſhip, entered it without ſeeing, or being ſeen by her. She was in the ſtern, and he went to the prow, where he remained for ſome time ſilent, holding his head between his hands. In this manner he continued three whole days, during which, either through indignation or ſhame, he neither ſaw nor ſpoke to Cleopatra. At laſt, when they were arrived at the promontory of Tenarus, the queen's female attendants reconciled them, and every thing went on as before. Still, however, he had the conſolation to ſuppoſe his army continued faithful to him, and accordingly diſpatched orders to his lieutenant Canidius to conduct it into Aſia. However, he was ſoon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their ſubmiſſion to his rival. This account ſo tranſported him with rage, that he was hardly prevented from killing himſelf; but at length, at the entreaty of his friends, he returned to Alexandria. Cleopatra, however, ſeemed to retain that fortitude in

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her misfortunes which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having amassed considerable riches, by means of confiscation, and other acts of violence, she formed a very singular and unheard of project: this was to convey her whole fleet over the isthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby save herself in another region, beyond the reach of Rome, with all her treasures.—Some of her vessels were actually transported thither, pursuant to her orders; but the Arabians having burnt them, and Anthony dissuading her from the design, she abandoned it for the more improbable scheme of defending Egypt against the conqueror. She omitted nothing in her power to put this advice in practice, and made all kinds of preparations for war, at least hoping thereby to obtain better terms from Augustus. In fact, she always had loved Anthony's fortunes rather than his person; and if she could have fallen upon any method of saving herself, though even at his expence, there is no doubt but she would have embraced it with gladness. She even still had some hopes from the power of her charms, though she was arrived almost at the age of forty, and was desirous of trying upon Augustus those arts which had been so successful with the greatest men of Rome. Thus, in three embassies, which were sent one after another from Anthony to Augustus in Asia, the queen had always her secret agents charged with particular proposals in her name. Anthony desired no more than that his life might be spared, and to have the liberty of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity. To those proposals Augustus made no reply. Cleopatra sent him also public proposals in favour of her children; but at the same time privately resigned him her crown, with all the ensigns of royalty. To the queen's public proposal no answer was given: to her private offer he replied, by giving her assurances of his favour in case she sent away Anthony, or put him to death. These negociations were not so private but they came to the knowledge of Anthony, whose jealousy and rage every occurrence now contributed to heighten. He built a small solitary house upon a mole in the sea, and there shut himself up, a prey to all

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thoſe paſſions that are the tormentors of unſucceſsful tyranny. There he paſſed his time, ſhunning all commerce with mankind, and profeſſing to imitate Timon the man hater. However, his furious jealouſy drove him even from his retreat into ſociety; for hearing that Cleopatra had many ſecret conferences with one Thyrſus, an emiſſary from Auguſtus, he ſeized upon him, and having ordered him to be cruelly ſcourged, he ſent him back to his patron. At the ſame time he ſent letters by him, importing that he had chaſtiſed Thyrſus for inſulting a man in misfortune; but withal he gave Auguſtus permiſſion to avenge himſelf, by ſcourging Hiparchus, Anthony's freed man, in the ſame manner. The revenge in this caſe would have been highly pleaſing to Anthony, as Hiparchus had left him to join the fortunes of his more ſucceſsful rival.

Meanwhile, the operations of the war were carried vigorouſly forward, and Egypt ſoon after became again the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Auguſtus, took Paretonium, which opened the whole country to his incurſions. On the other ſide, Anthony, who had ſtill conſiderable forces by ſea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himſelf, that, as ſoon as he ſhould ſhew himſelf to the legions which he had once commanded, the affection for their ancient general would revive. He approached therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity. Gallus, however, ordered all the trumpets to ſound in order to hinder Anthony from being heard, ſo that he was obliged to retire.

Auguſtus himſelf was in the mean time advancing with another army before Peluſium, which, by its ſtrong ſituation, might have retarded his progreſs for ſome time. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previouſly inſtructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take poſſeſſion of the place; ſo that Auguſtus had now no obſtacle in his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition. Anthony, upon his arrival ſallied out to op-

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poſe him, fighting with great deſperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This ſlight advantage once more revived his declining hopes; and, being naturally vain, he re-entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the palace, he embraced Cleopatra, and preſented her a ſoldier who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the late engagement. The queen rewarded him very magnificently, preſenting him with an head-piece and breaſt plate of gold. With theſe, however, the ſoldier went off the next night to the other army, prudently reſolving to ſecure his riches by keeping on the ſtrongeſt ſide. Anthony could not bear this defection without freſh indignation; he reſolved therefore to make a bold expiring effort by ſea and land, but previouſly offered to fight his adverſary in ſingle combat. Auguſtus too well knew the inequality of their ſituations to comply with this forlorn offer: he only therefore coolly replied, that Anthony had ways enough to die beſides by ſingle combat.

The day after, he poſted the few troops he had remaining upon a riſing ground near the city, from whence he ſent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a ſpectator of the combat; and at firſt he had the ſatisfaction to ſee them advance in good order; but his approbation was ſoon turned into rage, when he ſaw his ſhips only ſaluting thoſe of Auguſtus, and both fleets uniting together and ſailing back into the harbour. At the very ſame time his cavalry deſerted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry, which were eaſily vanquiſhed, and he himſelf compelled to return into the town. His anger was now ungovernable. He could not help crying out aloud as he paſt, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by her to thoſe who, for her ſake alone, were his enemies. In theſe ſuſpicions he was not deceived; for it was by ſecret orders from the queen that the fleet had paſt over to the enemy.

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Anthony's jealouſy, and had ſome time before prepared a method of obviating any ſudden ſallies it might produce. Near the temple of Iſis ſhe had erected a

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building, which was seemingly designed for a sepulchre. Hither she removed all her treasures and most valuable effects, covering them over with torches, faggots, and other combustible matter. This sepulchre she designed to answer a double purpose, as well to screen her from the sudden resentments of Anthony, as to make Augustus believe that she would burn all her treasures, in case he refused her proper terms of capitulation. Here therefore she retired from Anthony's present fury, shutting the gates which were fortified with bolts and bars of iron; but in the mean time gave orders that a report should be spread of her death, which news soon reached Anthony, and recalled all his former love and tenderness. This poor wretch was now a being, subject to the gust of every passion, and each of them in extreme. He now lamented her death with the same violence he had but a few minutes before seemed to desire it. "Wretched man," cried he to himself; "what is there now worth living for, since all that could sooth or soften my cares is departed? O Cleopatra," continued he, being got to his chamber, "our "separation does not so much afflict me, as the dis-"grace I suffer in permitting a woman to instruct me "in the ways of dying." He called one of his freed men, named Eros, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. Eros being commanded to perform his promise, this faithful follower drew the sword as if going to execute his orders; but turning his face, plunged it into his own bosom, and died at his master's feet.—Anthony for a while hung over his faithful servant, and commending his fidelity, took up the sword, with which, stabbing himself in the belly, he fell backward upon a little couch. Though the wound was mortal, yet the blood stopping, he recovered his spirits, and earnestly conjured those who were come into the room to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being seized with fright and horror. He therefore continued in this manner for some time, still crying out and writhing with pain, till he was informed by one of the queen's secretaries that his mistress was still alive. He

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then earneſtly deſired to be carried to the place where ſhe was. They accordingly brought him to the gate of the ſepulchre; but Cleopatra, who would not permit it to be opened, appeared at the window, and threw down cords, with which, with ſome difficulty, they pulled him up. They gently laid him on a couch, where ſhe gave way to her ſorrow, tearing her clothes, beating her breaſt, and kiſſing the wound of which he was dying. Anthony entreated her to moderate the tranſports of her grief, aſked for wine, and exhorting her not to lament for his misfortunes, but to congratulate him upon his former felicity, to conſider him as one who had lived the moſt powerful of men, and at laſt died by the hand of a Roman. Juſt as he had done ſpeaking he expired, and Proculus made his appearance by command of Auguſtus, who had been informed of Anthony's deſperate conduct. He was ſent to try all means of getting Cleopatra into his power. Auguſtus having a double motive for his ſolicitude on this occaſion; one, to prevent her deſtroying the treaſures ſhe had taken with her into the tomb: the other, to preſerve her perſon as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculus except through the gate, which was very well ſecured. In the mean time, Gallus, one of Auguſtus's ſoldiers, entered with two more by the window at which Anthony had been drawn up; upon which Cleopatra, perceiving what happened, drew a poignard, and attempted to ſtab herſelf, but was prevented.

Auguſtus was extremely pleaſed at finding her in his power: he ſent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her with the utmoſt circumſpection. He was likewiſe ordered to uſe her in every reſpect with that deference and ſubmiſſion which were due to her rank, and to do every thing in his power to render her captivity agreeable. She was permitted to have the honour of granting Anthony the rites of burial, and furniſhed with every thing ſhe deſired that was becoming his dignity to receive, or her love to offer.—Yet ſtill ſhe languiſhed under her new confinement:

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her exceſſive ſorrow, her many loſſes, and the blows ſhe had given her boſom, produced a fever, which ſhe ſeemed willing to increaſe. She reſolved to abſtain from taking any nouriſhment, under the pretence of a regimen neceſſary for her diſorder; but Auguſtus, being made acquainted with the real motive by her phyſician, began to threaten her with regard to her children in caſe ſhe perſiſted.

In the mean time, Auguſtus made his entry into Alexandria, taking care to mitigate the fears of the inhabitants, by converſing familiarly as he went along with Areus, a philoſopher, and a native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach; and when he placed himſelf upon the tribunal, they proſtrated themſelves with their faces to the ground before him, like criminals who waited the ſentence of their execution. Auguſtus preſently ordered them to riſe, telling them that three motives induced him to pardon them. His reſpect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beauty; and his friendſhip for Areus, their fellow-citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occaſion; Anthony's eldeſt ſon Antyllus, and Cæſario, the ſon of Julius Cæſar, both betrayed into his hands by their reſpective tutors, who themſelves ſuffered for their perfidy ſhortly after. As for the reſt of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleneſs, leaving them to the care of thoſe who were entruſted with their education, who had orders to provide them with every thing ſuitable to their birth. As for her, when ſhe was recovered from her late indiſpoſition, he came to viſit her in perſon; ſhe received him lying on a couch in a careleſs manner; and, upon his entering the apartment, roſe up to proſtrate herſelf before him. She was dreſt in nothing but a looſe robe. Her misfortunes had given an air of ſeverity to her features, her hair was diſhevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes red with weeping; yet ſtill her natural beauty ſeemed to gleam through the diſtreſſes that ſurrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the alluring ſoftneſs of her looks, ſtill bore teſtimony to the

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former power of her charms. Auguſtus raiſed her with his uſual complaiſance, and deſiring her to ſit, placed himſelf beſide her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made uſe of every method ſhe could think of to propitiate the conqueror. She tried apologies, entreaties, and allurements, to obtain his favour, and ſoften his reſentment. She began by attempting to juſtify her conduct; but when her art and ſkill failed againſt manifeſt proofs, ſhe turned her defence into ſupplications. She talked of Cæſar's humanity to thoſe in diſtreſs; ſhe read ſome of his letters to her, full of tenderneſs, and enlarged upon the long intimacy that had paſſed between them. "But of what ſervice," cried ſhe, "are now all his benefits to me! Why could "I not die with him! Yet he ſtill lives; methinks I "ſee him ſtill before me; he revives in you." Auguſtus was no ſtranger to this method of addreſs; but he remained firm againſt all attacks, anſwering always with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a different turn. She now addreſſed his avarice, preſenting him with an inventory of her treaſures and jewels. This gave occaſion to a very ſingular ſcene, which ſhews that the little decorums of breeding were then by no means ſo carefully attended to as at preſent. One of her ſtewards having alledged that the inventory was defective, and that ſhe had ſecreted part of her effects, ſhe fell into a violent paſſion, ſtarted from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him ſeveral blows on the face. Auguſtus ſmiled at her indignation; and leading her to the couch, deſired her to be pacified. To this ſhe replied, that ſhe could not bear being inſulted in the preſence of one whom ſhe ſo highly eſteemed. "And ſuppoſing," cried ſhe, "that "I have ſecreted a few trifles, am I to blame when "they are reſerved not for myſelf but for Livia and "Octavia, whom I hope to make my interceſſors with "you?" This excuſe, which intimated a deſire of living, was not diſagreeable to Auguſtus, who politely aſſured her that ſhe was at liberty to keep whatever ſhe had reſerved, and that in every thing ſhe ſhould be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then

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took leave and departed, imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being ſhewn in the intended triumph which he was preparing for his return to Rome: but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra all this time had kept a correſpondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth in the camp of Auguſtus, who, perhaps from compaſſion or ſtronger motives, was intereſted in her misfortunes: by him ſhe was ſecretly informed that Auguſtus determined to ſend her off in three days, together with her children to Rome, to grace his triumphant entry. She now therefore determined upon dying; ſhe now threw herſelf upon Anthony's coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her proteſtations not to ſurvive him. Having bathed, and ordered a ſumptuous banquet, ſhe attired herſelf in the moſt ſplendid manner. She then feaſted as uſual, and ſoon after ordered all but her two attendants, Charmion and Iras, to leave the room. Then, having previouſly ordered an aſp to be ſecretly conveyed to her in a baſket of fruit, ſhe ſent a letter to Auguſtus, informing him of her fatal purpoſe, and deſiring to be buried in the ſame tomb with Anthony. Auguſtus, upon receiving the letter, inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to ſtop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch arrayed in her royal robes. Near her Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was ſtretched lifeleſs at the feet of her miſtreſs; and Charmion herſelf, almoſt expiring, was ſettling the diadem upon Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the meſſengers, "was this well done, Charmion?"— "Yes," replied ſhe, "it is well done; ſuch a death "becomes a glorious queen, deſcended from a race of "noble anceſtors." On pronouncing theſe words, ſhe fell down and died with her much loved miſtreſs.

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CHAP. XXII.

From the beginning of the reign of Augustus, to the death of Domitian the last of the twelve Cæsars.

BY the death of Anthony, Augustus was now become master of the Roman empire. He soon after returned to Rome in triumph, where, by sumptuous feasts and magnificent shows, he began to obliterate the impressions of his former cruelty, and from thenceforward resolved to secure, by his clemency, a throne, the foundations of which were laid in blood. He was now at the head of the most extensive empire that mankind had ever concurred in obeying. The former spirit of the Romans, and those characteristic marks that distinguished them from others, were totally lost. The city was now inhabited by a concourse from all the countries of the world, and being consequently divested of all just patriotic principles, perhaps a monarchy was the best form of government that could be found to unite its members. However, it was very remarkable that, during these long contentions among themselves, and these horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily growing more formidable and powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it.

His first care was to assure himself of the friends of Anthony; to which end he publicly reported that he had burnt all Anthony's letters and papers without reading; convinced that, while any thought themselves suspected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendship.

As he had gained the kingdom by his army, so also he resolved to govern it by the senate. This body though greatly fallen from their ancient splendour, he knew to be the best ordered, and most capable of wisdom and justice. To these therefore he gave the chief power in the administration of his government, while he still kept the people and the army stedfast to him by

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donatives and acts of favour. By these means all the odium of justice fell upon the senate, and all the popularity of pardon was solely his own. Thus restoring to the senate their ancient splendour, and discountenancing all corruption, he pretended to reserve to himself a very moderate share of authority which none could refuse him; namely, an absolute power to compel all ranks of the state to do their duty. This in fact was reserving absolute dominion in his own hands: but the misguided people began to look upon his moderation with astonishment; they considered themselves as restored to their former freedom, except in the capacity of promoting sedition; and the senate supposed their power re-established in all things but their tendency to injustice. It was even said that the Romans, by such a government, lost nothing of the happiness that liberty could produce, and were exempt from all the misfortunes it could occasion. This observation might have some truth under such a monarch as Augustus now seemed to be; but they were taught to change their sentiments under his successors, when they found themselves afflicted with all the punishment that tyranny could inflict, or sedition make necessary.

After having established this admirable order, Augustus found himself agitated by different inclinations, and considered a long time whether he should keep the empire or restore the people to their ancient liberty.—But he adopted the advice of Mæcenas, who desired him to continue in power, and was afterwards swayed by him not only in this instance but on every other occasion. By the instructions of that minister, he became gentle, affable, and humane. By his advice it was, that he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and his friendship. They in their turn relieved his most anxious hours, and circulated his praise through the empire.

Thus having given peace and happiness to the empire, and being convinced of the attachment of all the orders of the state to his person, he resolved upon impressing the people with an idea of his magnanimity also. This was nothing less than making a shew of resigning his

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authority; wherefore, having previouſly inſtructed his creatures in the ſenate how to act, he addreſſed them in a ſtudied ſpeech, importing the difficulty of governing ſo extenſive an empire; a taſk which, he ſaid, none but the immortal gods were equal to. He modeſtly urged his own inability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it: and then, with a degree of ſeeming generoſity, freely gave up all that power, which, as he obſerved, his arms had gained, and the ſenate had confirmed. This power he repeatedly offered to reſtore, giving them to underſtand that the true ſpirit of the Romans was not loſt in him. This ſpeech operated upon the ſenate variouſly, as they were more or leſs in the ſecret; many believed the ſincerity of his profeſſions, and therefore regarded his conduct as an act of unequalled heroiſm by any thing that had hitherto appeared in Rome; others, equally ignorant of his motives, diſtruſted his deſigns. Some there were who, having greatly ſuffered during the late popular commotions, were fearful of having them renewed; but the majority, who were entirely devoted to his intereſts, and inſtructed by his miniſters, frequently attempted to interrupt him while ſpeaking, and received his propoſal with pretended indignation. Theſe unanimouſly beſought him not to reſign the adminiſtration; but upon his continuing to decline their requeſt, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his perſon might be in greater ſecurity, they immediately decreed the pay of his guard to be doubled. On the other hand, that he might ſeem to make ſome conceſſions on his ſide, he permitted the ſenate to govern the weak internal provinces of the empire, while the moſt powerful provinces, and thoſe that required the greateſt armies for their defence, were taken entirely under his own command. Over theſe he aſſumed the government but for ten years, leaving the people ſtill in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom, but at the ſame time laying his meaſures ſo well, that his government was renewed every ten years to his death.

This ſhew of a reſignation only ſerved to confirm him in the empire and the hearts of the people. New

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honours were heaped upon him. He was then firſt called Auguſtus, a name I have hitherto uſed as that by which he is beſt known in hiſtory. A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. His houſe was called the palace, to diſtinguiſh it from that of ordinary citizens. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his perſon declared ſacred and inviolable. In ſhort, flattery ſeemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleaſing him; but though he deſpiſed the arts of the ſenate, he permitted their homage, well knowing that among mankind titles produce a reſpect which enforces authority.

Upon entering into his tenth conſulſhip, the ſenate by oath approved of all his acts, and ſet him wholly above the power of the laws. They ſome time after offered to ſwear to not only all the laws he made, but ſuch as he ſhould make for the future. It was then cuſtomary with fathers upon their death bed to command their children to carry oblations to the capitol, with this inſcription, that at the day of their death they left Auguſtus in health. It was determined that no man ſhould be put to death on ſuch days as the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of proviſions, the people in a body entreated him to accept of the dictatorſhip: but, though he undertook to be procurator of the proviſions, he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been aboliſhed by a law made when Anthony was conſul.

This accumulation of titles and employments did not in the leaſt diminiſh his aſſiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholeſome edicts were paſſed by his command, tending to ſuppreſs corruption in the ſenate, and licentiouſneſs in the people. He ordained that none ſhould exhibit a ſhew of gladiators without orders from the ſenate, and then no oftener than twice a year; nor with more than an hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely neceſſary at ſo corrupt a period of the empire; when whole armies of theſe unfortunate men were brought at once upon the ſtage, and compelled to fight, often till half of them were ſlain. It had been uſual alſo with the knights,

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and some women of the first distinction, to exhibit themselves as dancers upon the theatre, he ordered that not only they, but their children and grand children, should be restrained from such exercises for the future. He fined many that had refused to marry at a certain age, and rewarded such as had many children. He ordained that virgins should not be married till twelve years of age, and permitted any person to kill an adulterer taken in the act. He enacted that the senators should be always held in great reverence, adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law that no man should have the freedom of the city without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits to the manumission of slaves, and was himself very strict in the observance of them. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exercises, yet he would not permit women to be present at them, holding it unbecoming the modesty of the sex to be spectators of these sports which were performed by naked men. In order to prevent bribery in suing for offices, he took considerable sums of money from the candidates by way of pledge; and if any indirect practices were proved against them they were obliged to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto disallowed to confess any thing against their own master; but he abolished the practice, and first sold the slave to another, which, altering the property, his examination became free. These, and many other laws, all tending to reform vice, or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the people another complexion; so that the rough character of the Roman was now softened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow-citizens; for being placed above all equality he had nothing to fear from condescension; wherefore he was familiar with all, and suffered himself to be reprimanded with the most patient humility. Though he was, by the single authority of his station,

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capable of condemning or acquitting whomſoever he thought proper, yet he gave laws their proper courſe, and even ſometimes pleaded for thoſe he deſired to protect. Thus Primus, the governor of Macedonia, having a day aſſigned him for having made war upon the Odriſii, a neighbouring ſtate, as he ſaid, by the command of Auguſtus, the latter denied the charge.—Upon which the advocate for Primus deſired to know, with an inſolent air, what brought Auguſtus into court, or who had ſent for him? To this the emperor ſubmiſſively replied, "The commonwealth;" an anſwer which greatly pleaſed the people. Upon another occaſion, one of his veteran ſoldiers entreated his protection in a certain cauſe; but Auguſtus taking little notice of his requeſt, deſired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah," replied the ſoldier, "it was not by proxy that "I ſerved you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleaſed Auguſtus ſo much, that he pleaded his cauſe in perſon, and gained it for him. He was extremely affable, and returned the ſalutations of the meaneſt perſons. One day a perſon preſented him a petition, but with ſo much awe that Auguſtus was diſpleaſed with his meanneſs. "What, friend," cried he, "you ſeem "as if you were offering ſomething to an elephant, and "not to a man; be bolder." One day as he was ſitting on the tribunal in judgment, Mæcenas, perceiving by his temper that he was inclined to be ſevere, attempted to ſpeak to him: but not being able to get up to the tribunal for the crowd, he threw a paper into his lap, on which was written "ariſe executioner."—Auguſtus read it without any diſpleaſure, and immediately riſing, pardoned thoſe whom he was diſpoſed to condemn. But what moſt of all ſhewed a total alteration in his diſpoſition, was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandſon. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conſpiracy againſt him; but the plot was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution. Auguſtus for ſome time debated with himſelf how to act; but at laſt his clemency prevailed; he therefore ſent for thoſe who were guilty, and after reprimanding them diſmiſſed them all. But he was re-

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folved to mortify Cinna by the greatneſs of his generoſity; for addreſſing him in particular, "I have twice," ſays he, "given you your life, firſt as an enemy, now "as a conſpirator; I now give you the conſulſhip; let "us therefore be friends for the future; and let us "only contend in ſhewing whether my confidence or "your fidelity ſhall be victorious." This generoſity, which the emperor very happily timed, had ſo good an effect, that from that inſtant all conſpiracies ceaſed againſt him.

In the practice of ſuch virtues as theſe he paſſed a long reign of above forty years, in which the happineſs of the people ſeemed to conſpire with his own, not but that there were wars in the diſtant provinces of the empire during almoſt the whole reign, but they were rather the quelling of inſurrections than the extending of dominions; for he had made it a rule to carry on no operations, in which ambition, and not the ſafety of the ſtate, was concerned. In fact he ſeemed the firſt Roman who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace alone, and who obtained the affections of the ſoldiers without any military talents of his own.—Nevertheleſs the Roman arms under his lieutenants were crowned with ſucceſs. The Cantabrians in Spain who had revolted were more than once quelled by Tiberius, his ſtep-ſon; Agrippa, his ſon-in-law, and Ælius Lama, who followed them to their inacceſſible mountains, there blocked them up, and compelled them by famine to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Germans alſo gave ſome uneaſineſs by their repeated incurſions into the territories of Gaul but were repreſſed by Lollius. The Rhetians were conquered by Druſus, the brother of Tiberius. The Beſſi and Sialatæ, barbarous nations, making an irruption into Thrace, were overthrown by Piſo, governor of Pamphylia, who gained triumphal honours. The Dacians were repreſſed with more than one defeat: the Armenians alſo were brought into due ſubjection by Caius, his grandſon. The Getulians in Africa took up arms; but were ſubdued by the conſul Caius Coſſus, who thence received the ſurname of Getulicus. A dangerous war alſo was carried on againſt

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the Dalamatians and Pannonians, who, having acquired great ſtrength by the continuance of a long peace, gathered an army of two hundred thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe, threatening Rome itſelf with deſtruction. Levies were therefore made in Italy with the utmoſt expedition; the veteran troops were recalled from all parts, and Auguſtus went to Arminium for the greater convenience of giving his directions. And indeed, though perſonal valour was by no means his ſhining ornament, yet no man could give wiſer orders upon every emergency, or go with greater diſpatch into all parts of his dominions than he. This war continued near three years, being principally managed by Tiberius and Germanicus; the latter of whom gained reputation againſt theſe fierce and barbarous multitudes. Upon their reduction, Bato, their leader, being ſummoned before the tribunal of Tiberius, and being demanded how he could offer to revolt againſt the power of Rome, the bold barbarian replied, "That the Ro-"mans, and not he, were the aggreſſors; ſince they "had ſent, inſtead of dogs and ſhepherds to ſecure their "flocks, only wolves and bears to devour them." But the war, which was moſt fatal to the Roman intereſts during this reign, was that which was managed by Quintillius Varus. This general invading the territories of the Germans, was induced to follow the enemy among their foreſts and marſhes with his army in ſeparate bodies: there he was attacked by night, and entirely cut off, with his whole army. Theſe were the beſt and choiceſt legions of the whole empire, either for valour, diſcipline, or experience.—The affliction from this defeat ſeemed to ſink very deep upon the mind of Auguſtus. He was often heard to cry out in a tone of anguiſh, "Quintillius Varus re-"ſtore me my legions;" and ſome hiſtorians pretend to ſay that he never after recovered the former ſerenity of his temper.

U. C. 752.

But he had ſome uneaſineſs of a domeſtic nature in his own family that contributed to diſtreſs him: he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, by the conſent of her huſband, at a time ſhe was ſix months

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gone with child. This was an imperious woman, and, conſcious of being beloved, ſhe controlled him ever after at her pleaſure. She had two ſons by her former huſband, Tiberius the elder, whom ſhe greatly loved; and Druſus, who was born three months after ſhe had been married to Auguſtus, and who was thought to be his own ſon. The eldeſt of theſe, Tiberius, whom he afterwards adopted, and who ſucceeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a ſuſpicious and obſtinate temper; ſo that though he was ſerviceable to Auguſtus in his foreign wars, yet he gave him but little quiet at home. He was at laſt obliged to go into exile for five years to the iſland of Rhodes, where he chiefly ſpent his time in a retired manner, converſing with the Greeks, and addicting himſelf to literature; of which however he made afterwards but a bad uſe.—Druſus, the ſon of Livia, died in his return from an expedition againſt the Germans, leaving Auguſtus inconſolable for his loſs. But his greateſt affliction was the conduct of his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, his former wife. This woman he married to his general Agrippa, and after his death to Tiberius, ſet no bounds to her lewdneſs. Not contented with enjoying her pleaſures, ſhe ſeemed alſo earneſt in procuring the infamy of her proſtitutions. Auguſtus for a long time would not believe the accounts he daily heard of her conduct, but at laſt could not help obſerving them. He found ſhe was arrived at that exceſs of wantonneſs and prodigality that ſhe had her nocturnal appointments in the moſt public parts of the city; the very court where her father preſided not being exempt from her debaucheries. He at firſt had thoughts of putting her to death; but after ſome conſideration he baniſhed her to Pandataria, forbidding her the uſe of wine, and all ſuch delicacies, as could inflame her vicious inclinations: he ordered alſo that no perſon ſhould come near her without his own permiſſion, and ſent her mother Scribonia with her to bear her company. Afterwards, whenever any attempted to intercede for Julia, his anſwer was, "That fire and water "ſhould ſooner unite than he with her." When ſome

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perſons one day were more than uſually urgent with him in her favour, he was driven to ſuch an extremity of paſſion as to wiſh that they might have ſuch a daughter. However, ſhe had two ſons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius, from whom great expectations were formed; but they died when ſcarcely arrived at man's eſtate; Lucius about five years after his father at Marſeilles, and Caius two years after. Auguſtus having now, in a great meaſure, ſurvived all his contemporaries, at length, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, began to think of retiring from the fatigues of ſtate, and in ſome meaſure of continuing Tiberius, his ſon-in-law by Livia, his ſucceſſor in his uſual employments. He deſired the ſenate to ſalute him no longer at the palace according to cuſtom; nor to take it amiſs, if, for the future, he could not converſe with them as formerly. From that time Tiberius was joined in the government of the provinces with him, and inveſted with almoſt the ſame authority. However, Auguſtus could not entirely forſake the adminiſtration of the ſtate, which habit had mixed with his ſatisfactions; he ſtill continued a watchful guardian of its intereſts, and ſhewed himſelf to the laſt a lover of his people. Finding it now therefore very inconvenient to come to the ſenate by reaſon of his age, he deſired to have twenty privy counſellors aſſigned him for a year; and it was decreed, that whatever meaſures were reſolved upon by them, together with the conſuls, they ſhould have entirely the force of a law. He ſeemed in ſome meaſure apprehenſive of his approaching end, for he made his will, and delivered it to the veſtal virgins. He then ſolemnized the cenſus, or numbering the people, whom he found to amount to four millions, one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand; which ſhews Rome to be equal to four of the greateſt cities of modern times. While theſe ceremonies were performing by a mighty concourſe of people in the Campus Martius, it is ſaid that an eagle flew round the emperor ſeveral times, and directing its flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa, which was by the augurs conceived to

U. C. 766.

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portend the death of the emperor. Shortly after, having accompanied Tiberius in his march into Illyria as far as Beneventum, he was there taken ill of a diarrhœa. Returning therefore from thence, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there finding himself dangerously ill, he sent for Tiberius with the rest of his most intimate friends and acquaintance. A few hours before his death he ordered a looking-glass to be brought, and his hair to be adjusted with more than usual care. He then addressed his friends whom he beheld surrounding his bed, and desired to know whether he had properly played his part in life; to which being answered in the affirmative, he cried out with his last breath, "then give me your applause;" and thus, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired in the arms of Livia, bidding her remember their marriage and farewel.

The death of the emperor when known caused inexpressible grief throughout the whole Roman empire; it was even supposed that his wife Livia had some hand in hastening it, willing to procure the succession more speedily for her son. However this be, she took care for some time to keep it concealed, having guarded all the passages to the palace; sometimes giving out that he recovered, and pretending a relapse. At length, having settled the succession to her mind, she published the emperor's death, and at the same time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire. The emperor's funeral was performed with great magnificence. The senators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care was devolved, began a consolatory oration to them; but suddenly stopped in the beginning of his speech, as unable to restrain the violence of his sorrow; and, instead of continuing, gave his notes to Drusus, his son, who read them to the senate. After this, one of the late emperor's freed men publicly read his will in the senate house, wherein he made Tiberius and Livia his heirs; and by that Livia was likewise adopted into the Julian family, and honoured with the name of Augusta. Besides his will, four other writings of his

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were produced. One, in which he had left inſtructions concerning his funeral; another, containing an enumeration of his ſeveral exploits; a third, compriſing an account of the provinces, forces, and revenues of the empire; and a fourth, a ſchedule of directions to Tiberius for governing the empire. Among theſe it was found to be his opinion, that no man, how great a favourite ſoever he might be, ſhould be entruſted with too much authority, leſt it ſhould induce him to turn tyrant. Another maxim was, that none ſhould deſire to enlarge the empire which was already preſerved with difficulty. Thus he ſeemed ſtudious of ſerving his country to the very laſt, and the ſorrow of the people ſeemed equal to his aſſiduity. It was decreed, that all the women ſhould mourn for him a whole year.—Temples were erected to him; divine honours were allowed him; and one Numerius Atticus, a ſenator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large ſum of money for ſwearing that he ſaw him aſcending into heaven; ſo that no doubt remained among the people concerning his divinity.

Such were the honours paid to Auguſtus, whoſe power began in the ſlaughter, and terminated in the happineſs of his ſubjects; ſo that it was ſaid of him—"That it had been good for mankind if he had never "been born, or if he never had died." It is very probable that the cruelties exerciſed in his triumvirate were ſuggeſted by his colleagues; or, perhaps, he thought, in the caſe of Cæſar's death, that revenge was virtue. Certain it is, that theſe ſeverities were in ſome meaſure neceſſary to reſtore public tranquility; for, until the Roman ſpirit was entirely eradicated, no monarchy could be ſecure. He gave the government an air ſuited to the diſpoſition of the times; he indulged his ſubjects in the pride of ſeeing the appearance of a republic, while he made them really happy in the effects of a moſt abſolute monarchy, guided by the moſt conſummate prudence. In this laſt virtue he ſeems to have excelled moſt monarchs; and indeed, could we

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ſeparate Octavius from Auguſtus, he would be one of the moſt faultleſs princes in hiſtory.

U. C. 765. A. D. 15. Tiberius was fifty-ſix years old when he took upon him the government of the Roman empire. He had long lived in a profound ſtate of diſſimulation under Auguſtus, and was not yet hardy enough to ſhew himſelf in his real character. In the beginning of his reign nothing appeared but prudence, generoſity, and clemency. But the ſucceſſes of Germanicus, his nephew, over the Germans, firſt brought his natural diſpoſitions to light, and diſcovered the malignity of his mind without diſguiſe. He ſoon therefore, began to conſult on the moſt ſpecious means of humbling the popularity of Germanicus, and removing this object of his ſuſpicions. For this purpoſe he diſpatched Piſo to Germanicus, a perſon of a furious and head-ſtrong temper, and in every reſpect fit to execute thoſe fatal purpoſes for which he was deſigned. His inſtructions were to oppoſe Germanicus upon every occaſion, and to excite all the hatred againſt him which, without ſuſpicion, he could, and even to procure his death if an opportunity ſhould offer. This agent ſucceeded; Germanicus died ſoon after; and, as it was univerſally believed, by poiſon.

Having now no object of jealouſy to keep him in awe, he began to pull off the maſk entirely, and appear more in his natural character than before. In the beginning of his cruelties he took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his confidence by the moſt refined degree of diſſimulation, being an overmatch for his maſter in his own arts. It is not well known whether he was the adviſer of all the cruelties that enſued ſoon after; but certain it is, that, from the beginning of his miniſtry Tiberius ſeemed to become more fatally ſuſpicious.

Sejanus began by uſing all his addreſs to perſuade Tiberius to retire to ſome agreeable retreat remote from Rome. By this he expected many advantages, ſince there could be no acceſs to the emperor but by him. The emperor, either prevailed upon by his perſuaſions, or purſuing the natural turn of his temper,

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which led to indolence and debauchery, in the twelfth year of his reign left Rome, and went into Campania, under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Auguſtus. Still growing weary of places where mankind might follow him with their complaints and diſtreſſes, he withdrew himſelf into that moſt delightful iſland of Caprea, three miles from the continent, and oppoſite Naples. Buried in this retreat, he gave himſelf up to his abandoned pleaſures, quite regardleſs of the miſeries of his ſubjects.

In fact, it had been happy for mankind had he given up his ſuſpicions when he declined the fatigues of reigning, and reſigned the will to do harm, when he diveſted himſelf of the power of doing good. But from the time of his retreat he became more cruel, and Sejanus always endeavoured to increaſe his diſtruſts. Secret ſpies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the moſt harmleſs actions into ſubjects of offence.

In conſequence of this, Nero and Druſus, the children of Germanicus, were declared enemies to the ſtate, and afterwards ſtarved to death in priſon, while Agrippina, their mother, was ſent into baniſhment. Sabinus, Aſinius Gallus, and Syriacus, were, upon ſlight pretences, condemned and executed. In this manner Sejanus proceeded, removing all who ſtood between him and the empire, and every day increaſing in confidence with Tiberius, and power with the ſenate.—The number of his ſtatues exceeded even thoſe of the emperor; people ſwore by his fortune in the ſame manner as they would have done had he been actually upon the throne; and he was more dreaded than even the tyrant who actually enjoyed the empire. But the rapidity of his riſe ſeemed only preparatory to the greatneſs of his downfal. All we know of his firſt diſgrace with the emperor is, that Satrius Secundus was the man who had the boldneſs to accuſe him of treaſon; and Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, ſeconded the accuſation. The ſenate, who had long been jealous of his power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond the orders of Tiberi-

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us, and inſtead of ſentencing him to impriſonment, they directed his execution. As he was conducting to his fate the people loaded him with inſult and execration. He was purſued with ſarcaſtic reproaches; his ſtatues were inſtantly thrown down, and he himſelf ſhortly after ſtrangled by the executioner.

His death only lighted up the emperor's rage for farther executions. Plancina, the wife of Piſo, Sextus Veſtilius, Veſcularius Atticus, and Julius Marinus, were executed by his command for being attached to Sejanus. He began to grow weary of particular executions, and gave orders that all the accuſed ſhould be put to death together, without further examination.—The whole city was filled with ſlaughter and mourning. When one Carnulius had killed himſelf to avoid the torture: "Ah," cried Tiberius, "how has that man "been able to eſcape me!" When a priſoner earneſtly entreated that he would not defer his death: "No," cried the tyrant, "I am not ſufficiently your friend to "ſhorten your torments."

In this manner he lived, odious to all the world, and troubleſome to himſelf; an enemy to the lives of others, and a tormentor of his own. At length, in the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his diſſolution, and all his appetites totally to forſake him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a ſucceſſor, and at length fixed upon Caligula; willing, perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, with which he was well acquainted, to cover the memory of his own.

Still, however, he ſeemed willing to avoid his end, and ſtrove, by change of place, to put off the inquietude of his own reflections. He left his favourite iſland, and went upon the continent; and at laſt fixed at the promontory of Miſenum, in a houſe that formerly belonged to Lucullus. It was there that he fell into ſuch faintings as all believed were fatal. Caligula ſuppoſing him actually dead, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged by the prætorian ſoldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment, amidſt the applauſes of the multitude; when, all of a ſudden, he was informed

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that the emperor was recovered, that he had begun to ſpeak, and deſired to eat. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and alarm: every one who had before been in earneſt in teſtifying their joy now reaſſumed their pretended ſorrow, and left the new emperor through a feigned ſolicitude for the fate of the old. Caligula ſeemed thunderſtruck: he preſerved a gloomy ſilence expecting nothing but death inſtead of the empire at which he had aſpired. Macro, however, who was hardened in crimes, ordered that the dying emperor ſhould be diſpatched, by ſmothering him with pillows, or, as others will have it, by poiſon. In this manner Tiberius died in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, after reigning twenty-two.

U. C. 790. A. D. 39.

It was in the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign that Chriſt was crucified, as if the univerſal depravity of mankind wanted no leſs a ſacrifice than that of God himſelf to reclaim them. Shortly after his death Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of his paſſion, reſurrection, and miracles; upon which the emperor made a report of the whole to the ſenate, deſiring that Chriſt might be accounted a God by the Romans. But the ſenate, being diſpleaſed that the propoſal had not come firſt from themſelves, refuſed to allow his apotheoſis, alledging an ancient law which gave them the ſuperintendance in all matters in religion. They even went ſo far as, by an edict, to command that all Chriſtians ſhould leave the city; but Tiberius, by another act, threatened death to all ſuch as ſhould accuſe them; by which means they continued unmoleſted during the reſt of his reign.

All the enormities of Caligula were concealed in the beginning of his reign. But it had been happy for him and the empire had ſuch a beginning been as ſtrenuouſly maintained. In leſs than eight months all appearance of moderation and clemency vaniſhed; while furious paſſions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty began to take their turn in his mind.—Pride, impiety, luſt, avarice, and all in the extreme, were every moment brought forward.

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His pride first began by assuming to himself the title of ruler, which was usually granted only to kings. He would also have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been advised that he was already superior to all the monarchs of the world. Not long after he assumed divine honours, and gave himself the name of such divinities as he thought most agreeable to his nature.—For this purpose he caused the heads of the statues of Jupiter and some other gods to be struck off, and his own to be put in their places. He frequently seated himself between Castor and Pollux, and ordered that all who came to their temple to worship should pay their adorations only to him. However, such was the extravagant inconstancy of this unaccountable idiot, that he changed his divinity as as often as he changed his clothes. Being at one time a male deity, at another a female; sometimes Jupiter or Mars, and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity, in which his statue of gold was every day drest in similar robes to those which he himself wore, and was worshipped by crowds of adorers. His priests were numerous; the sacrifices made to him were of the most exquisite delicacies that could be procured, and the dignity of the priesthood was sought by the most opulent men of the city. However he admitted his wife and his horse to that honor; and, to give a finishing stroke to his absurdities, he became a priest to himself. His method of assuming the manners of a deity was not less ridiculous: he often went out in the full moon, and courted it in the style of a lover. He often invited it to his bed, to taste the pleasures of his embraces. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out with a speech of Homer, "Do you "conquer me, or I will conquer you." He frequently pretended to converse in whispers with the statue of Jupiter, and usually seemed angry at its replies, threatening to send it packing into Greece. Sometimes, however, he would assume a better temper, and seemed contented that they two should dwell together in amity.

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Of all his vices his prodigality was the moſt remarkable, and that which in ſome meaſure gave riſe to the reſt. The luxuries of former emperors were ſimplicity itſelf when compared to thoſe which he practiſed. He contrived new ways of bathing, where the richeſt oils and moſt precious perfumes were exhauſted with the utmoſt profuſion. He found out diſhes of immenſe value, and had even jewels, as we are told, diſſolved among his ſauces. He ſometimes had ſervices of pure gold preſented before his gueſts inſtead of meat, obſerving, that a man ſhould be an œconomiſt or an emperor.

The expenſive manner in which he maintained his horſe will give ſome idea of his domeſtic œconomy.—He built it a ſtable of marble, and a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called Incitatus, was to run, he placed centinels near its ſtable the night preceding to prevent its ſlumbers from being broken. He appointed it an houſe, furniture, and a kitchen, in order to treat all its viſitors with proper reſpect. The emperor ſometimes invited Incitatus to his own table, preſented it with gilt oats and wine in a golden cup.—He often ſwore by the ſafety of his horſe; and it is ſaid he would have appointed it to the conſulſhip had not his death prevented.

His impiety was but ſubordinate to his cruelties. He ſlew many of the ſenate, and afterwards cited them to appear as if they had killed themſelves. He caſt great numbers of old and infirm men, and poor decrepid houſekeepers to wild beaſts, to free the ſtate from ſuch unſerviceable citizens. He uſually fed his wild beaſts with the bodies of thoſe wretches whom he condemned, and every tenth day ſent off numbers of them to be thus devoured, which he jocoſely called clearing his accounts. One of thoſe who was thus expoſed, crying out that he was innocent, Caligula ordered his tongue to be cut out, and then thrown into the amphitheatre as before. He took delight in killing men with ſlow tortures, that, as he expreſt it, they might feel themſelves dying; being always preſent at ſuch executions, himſelf directing the duration of the puniſhment, and mitigating the tortures, merely to pre-

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long them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than this unrelenting temper and inflexible severity, which he preserved while presiding at an execution. At one time being incensed with the citizens of Rome, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck that he might dispatch them at a blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties produced many secret conspiracies against him; but these were for a while deferred upon account of his intended expedition against the Germans and Britons, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. For this purpose he caused numerous levies to be made in all parts of the empire, and talked with so much resolution, that it was universally believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper: sometimes it was so rapid that the cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times it was so slow that it more resembled a pompous procession than a military expedition. In this disposition he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and ordered all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain, he only gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this he described in his letter to the senate as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea-shore in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing up his men in order of battle, he went on board his galley, with which, coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given as if for an engagement; upon which his men, having had previous orders, immediately fell to gathering the shells that lay upon the shore into their helmets, terming them the spoils of the conquered ocean, worthy of the palace and the capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together as a general after victory, he harangued them in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their atchieve-

U. C. 793. A. D. 41.

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ments; and then distributed money among them, dismissed them with orders to be joyful, and congratulated them upon their riches. But that such exploits should not pass without a memorial, he caused a lofty tower to be erected by the sea side, and ordered the gallies in which he had put to sea to be conveyed to Rome, in a great measure by land.

Cassius Cherea, tribune of the prætorian bands, was the person who at last freed the world of this tyrant. Besides the motives which he had in common with other men, he had received repeated insults from Caligula, who took all occasions of turning him to ridicule, and impeaching him of cowardice, merely because he happened to have an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came to demand the watchword from the emperor, according to custom, he always gave him either Venus, Adonis, or some such, implying effeminacy and softness. He therefore secretly imparted his designs to several senators and knights, whom he knew to have received personal injuries from Caligula; among whom was Valerius Asiaticus, whose wife the emperor had debauched. Anius Vinicianus also was desirous of engaging in the first design that offered. Besides these, were Clemens the præfect, and Calistus, whose riches made him obnoxious to the tyrant's resentment.

While these were deliberating upon the most certain and speedy method of destroying the tyrant, an unexpected incident gave new strength to the conspiracy. Pompedius, a senator of distinction, having been accused before the emperor of having spoken of him with disrespect, the informer cited one Quintilia, an actress, to confirm his accusation. Quintilia, however, was possessed of a degree of fortitude not easily found even in the other sex. She denied the fact with obstinacy; and being put to the torture at the informer's request, she bore the severest torments of the rack with unshaken constancy. But what is most remarkable of her resolution is, that she was acquainted with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and although Cherea was the person appointed to preside at her torture, she revealed nothing: on the contrary, when she was led to

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the rack, she trod upon the toe of one of the conspirators, intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own resolution not to divulge it. In this manner she suffered, until all her limbs were dislocated; and in that deplorable state was presented to the emperor, who ordered her a gratuity for what she had suffered. Cherea could no longer contain his indignation at being thus made the instrument of a tyrant's cruelty. After several deliberations with the conspirators, it was at last resolved to attack him during the continuance of the Palatine games, which lasted four days; and to strike the blow when his guards should have the least opportunity to defend him. In consequence of this, the three first days of the games passed without affording any opportunity. Cherea now therefore began to apprehend, that deferring the time of the conspiracy might be a means to divulge it; he even began to dread that the honour of killing the tyrant might fall to the lot of some other person more bold than himself; wherefore, he at last resolved to defer the execution of his plot only to the day following, when Caligula should pass through a private gallery to some baths not far distant from the palace.

The last day of the games was more splendid than the rest, and Caligula seemed more sprightly and condescending than usual. He took great amusement in seeing the people scramble for the fruits and other rarities, thrown by his order among them, and seemed no way apprehensive of the plot formed for his destruction. In the mean time the conspiracy began to transpire; and, had he had any friends left, it would not fail of being discovered. A senator, who was present, asking one of his acquaintances if he had heard any thing new, the other replying in the negative, "then you must know," says he, "that this day will be represented the death of a tyrant." The other immediately understood him, but desired him to be more cautious how he divulged a secret of so much importance. The conspirators waited a great part of the day with the most extreme anxiety; and, at one time, Caligula seemed resolved to spend the whole day without any

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refreſhment. This unexpected delay entirely exaſperated Cherea; and, had he not been reſtrained, he would have gone and perpetrated his deſign in the midſt of all the people. Juſt at that inſtant, while he was yet heſitating what he ſhould do, Aſprenas, one of the conſpirators, perſuaded Caligula to go to the bath, and take ſome ſlight refreſhment, in order to enjoy the reſt of the entertainment with greater reliſh. The emperor therefore riſing up, the conſpirators uſed every precaution to keep off the throng, and to ſurround him, under pretence of greater aſſiduity. And theſe, upon his entering into a little vaulted gallery that lead from the theatre to the bath, reſolved to diſpatch him. Cherea firſt ſtruck him to the ground with his dagger, crying out, "Tyrant, think upon this." Immediately after the other conſpirators ruſhed in; and, while the emperor continued to reſiſt, crying out that he was not yet dead, they diſpatched him with thirty wounds.

Such was the merited death of Caius Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of three years, ten months, and eight days. It will be unneceſſary to add any thing more to his character than what Seneca ſays of him, namely, that nature ſeemed to have brought him forth, to ſhew what was poſſible to be produced from the greateſt vice, ſupported by the greateſt authority.

U. C. 794 A. D. 42. As ſoon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greateſt confuſion in all parts of the city. The conſpirators, who only aimed at deſtroying a tyrant without attending to a ſucceſſor, had all ſought ſafety by retiring to private places. Some ſoldiers happening to run about the palace diſcovered Claudius, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a ſecret place, where he had hid himſelf through fear. Of this perſonage, who had hitherto been deſpiſed for his imbecility, they reſolved to make an emperor, and accordingly carried him upon their ſhoulders to the camp, where they proclaimed him, at a time he expected nothing but death, and the ſenate confirmed their choice.

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Claudius was now fifty years old when he began to reign. The complicated diſeaſes of his infancy had in ſome meaſure affected all the faculties both of his body and mind. He was continued in a ſtate of pupilage much longer than was uſual at that time, and ſeemed in every part of life incapable of conducting himſelf.

The commencement of his reign, as it was with all the other bad emperors, gave the moſt promiſing hopes of an happy continuance. He began by paſſing an act of oblivion for all former words and actions, and diſannulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He ſhewed himſelf more moderate than his predeceſſors with regard to titles and honours. He forbade all perſons, upon ſevere penalties, to ſacrifice to him, as they had done to Caligula. He was aſſiduous in hearing and examining complaints, and frequently adminiſtered juſtice in perſon, tempering by his mildneſs, the ſeverity of ſtrict juſtice.

To his ſolicitude for the internal advantages of the ſtate he added that of a watchful guardianſhip over the provinces. He reſtored Judea to Herod Agrippa, which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipa, his uncle, the man who had put John the Baptiſt to death, and who was baniſhed by order of the preſent emperor. Claudius alſo reſtored ſuch princes to their kingdoms as had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed by his predeceſſors, but deprived the Lycians and Rhodians of their liberty, for having promoted inſurrection, and crucified ſome citizens of Rome.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conqueſt. The Britons, who had for near an hundred years been left in ſole poſſeſſion of their own Iſland, began to ſeek the mediation of Rome, to quell their inteſtine commotions. The principal man who deſired to ſubject his native country to the Roman dominion was one Bericus, who, by many arguments, perſuaded the emperor to make a deſcent upon the Iſland, magnifying the advantages that would attend the conqueſt of it. In purſuance of his advice, therefore, Plautius, the prætor was ordered to paſs over into Gaul, and make preparations for this great expedition. At firſt, indeed,

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his soldiers seemed backward to embark; declaring, that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world, for so they judged Britain to be. However, they were at last persuaded to go; and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were several times overthrown.

A. D. 46. These successes soon after induced Claudius to go into Britain in person, upon pretence that the natives were still seditious, and had not delivered up some Roman fugitives, who had taken shelter among them. However, his expedition seemed rather calculated for shew than service: The time he continued in Britain, which was in all but sixteen days, was more taken up in receiving homage than extending his conquests. Great rejoicings were made upon his return to Rome. The senate decreed him a splendid triumph; triumphal arches were erected to his honour, and annual games instituted to commemorate his victories. In the mean time war was vigorously prosecuted by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and by that means reduced a part of the island into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afresh under the

A. D. 51. government of Ostorius, who succeeded Plautius. The Britons either despising him for want of experience, or hoping to gain advantages over a person newly come to command, rose up in arms and disclaimed the Roman power. The Iceni, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, made a powerful resistance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. He, with great conduct, removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarm.

This general, however, upon the approach of Ostorius, finding himself obliged to come to a decisive en-

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gagement, addreſſed his countrymen with calm reſolution, telling them, that this battle would either eſtabliſh their liberty or confirm their ſervitude: That they ought to remember the bravery of their anceſtors, by whoſe valour they were delivered from taxes and tributes, and that this was the time to ſhew themſelves equal to their progenitors. Nothing, however, that undiſciplined valour could perform could avail againſt the conduct of the Roman legions. After an obſtinate fight the Britons were entirely routed; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners; and he himſelf, ſeeking refuge from Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherouſly delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome nothing could exceed the curioſity of the people to behold a man who had for ſo many years braved the power of the empire. On his part he teſtified no marks of baſe dejection; but, as he was led through the ſtreets, happening to obſerve the ſplendour of every object around him, "Alas," cried he, "how is it poſſible that people, "poſſeſſed of ſuch magnificence at home, could think "of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Bri"tain!" When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives ſued for pity with the moſt abject lamentations, Caractacus ſtood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and ſeemed rather willing to accept of pardon, than meanly ſolicitous of ſuing for it. "If," cried he, towards the end of his ſpeech, "I had yield"ed immediately, and without oppoſition, neither my "fortune would have been remarkable, nor my glory "memorable: you would have ceaſed to be victorious, "and I had been forgotten. If now therefore you "ſpare my life, I ſhall continue a perpetual example "of your clemency." Claudius had the generoſity to pardon him; and Oſtorius was decreed a triumph, which however he did not live to enjoy.

Claudius gave in the beginning of his reign the higheſt hopes of a happy continuance; but he ſoon began to leſſen his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This weak prince had from his infancy been in a ſtate of pupilage; and now, when called to govern, he was unable

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to act but under the direction of others. The chief of his inſtructors was his wife Meſſalina, whoſe name is almoſt become a common appellation for women of abandoned characters.

By her was Claudius urged on to commit cruelties, which he conſidered only as wholeſome ſeverities, while her debaucheries became every day more notorious, and her lewdneſs exceeded what had ever been ſeen in Rome. Her crimes and enormities, however, being at length diſcovered, ſhe, together with her paramour, Caius Silius, ſuffered that death they ſo juſtly deſerved.

Claudius took for his ſecond wife Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus, a woman of a cruel and ambitious ſpirit, whoſe whole aim being to procure the ſucceſſion for Nero her ſon by a former marriage, treated Claudius with ſuch haughtineſs, that he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to ſuffer the diſorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expreſſion ſunk deep on her mind, and engaged all her faculties to prevent the blow. She therefore reſolved not to defer a crime which ſhe had meditated a long while before, which was to poiſon him. She for ſome time, however, debated with herſelf in what manner ſhe ſhould adminiſter the poiſon, as ſhe feared too ſtrong a doſe would diſcover her treachery, and one too weak might fail of its effect. At length ſhe determined upon a poiſon of ſingular efficacy to deſtroy his intellects, and yet not ſuddenly to terminate his life. As ſhe had been long converſant in this horrid practice, ſhe applied to a woman called Locuſta, notorious for aſſiſting on ſuch occaſions. The poiſon was given the emperor among muſhrooms, a diſh he was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten he dropped down inſenſible; but this cauſed no alarm, as it was uſual with him to ſit eating till he had ſtupified all his faculties, and was obliged to be carried off to his bed from the table.—However, his conſtitution ſeemed to overcome the effects of the poiſon, when Agrippina reſolved to make ſure of him; wherefore ſhe directed a wretched phyſician, who was her creature, to thruſt a poiſoned fea-

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ther down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit, and this dispatched him.

Nero, though but seventeen years of age began his reign with the general approbation of mankind. He appeared just, liberal, and humane: when a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be signed, he was heard to cry out, with seeming concern, "Would to heaven that I had never learned to write!" U.C. 793. A. D. 55.

But as he increased in years his crimes seemed to increase in equal proportion. The execution of his own mother Agrippina was the first alarming instance he gave of his cruelty. Having attempted to get her drowned at sea, failing in this, he ordered her to be put to death in her palace; and coming in person to gaze upon the dead body, was heard to say, that he never thought his mother had been so handsome.

All the bounds of virtue being thus broken down, Nero now gave a loose to his appetites, that were not only sordid but inhuman. There seemed an odd contrast in his disposition; for while he practised cruelties, which were sufficient to make the mind shudder with horror, he was fond of those amusing arts that soften and refine the heart. He was particularly addicted, even from his childhood, to music, and not totally ignorant of poetry; but chariot-driving was his favourite pursuit; and all these he frequently was seen to exhibit in public.

But it had been happy for mankind had he confined himself to these; and, contented with being contemptible, sought not to become formidable also. His cruelties even outdid all his other extravagancies. He seemed even studious of finding out pleasures as well as crimes against nature. Being attired in the habit of a woman, and covered with a yellow veil like a bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable companions, called Pythagoris, and again to his freed man Deriphorus. On the other hand, that he might be every way detestable, he became the husband of a youth named Sporus, whom he had previously deprived of the marks of virility. A great part of the city of Rome was

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conſumed by fire in his time; and moſt hiſtorians aſcribe the conflagration to him. It is ſaid that he ſtood upon an high tower during the continuance of the flames enjoying the ſight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, ſome verſes upon the deſtruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occaſion, none were permitted to lend any aſſiſtance towards extinguiſhing the flames; and ſeveral perſons were ſeen ſetting fire to the houſes, alledging that they had orders for ſo doing. However this be, the emperor uſed every art to throw the odium of ſo deteſtable an action from himſelf, and to fix it upon the Chriſtians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the perſecution raiſed againſt them upon this falſe accuſation. Some were covered with the ſkins of wild beaſts, and in that figure devoured by dogs. Some were crucified, and others burnt alive. "When the day was not ſufficient for their tortures, the flames in which they periſhed," ſays Tacitus, "ſerved to illuminate the night;" while Nero dreſſed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himſelf with their tortures from his gardens, and entertained the people at one time with their ſufferings, at another with the games of the circus. In this perſecution St. Paul was beheaded, and St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which death he choſe, as being more diſhonourable than that of his Divine Maſter.

A conſpiracy formed againſt Nero by Piſo, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely diſcovered, opened a new train of ſuſpicion that deſtroyed many of the principal families in Rome. The two moſt remarkable perſonages who fell on this occaſion were Seneca the philoſopher, and Lucan the poet, who was his nephew. Nero, either having real teſtimony againſt him, or elſe hating him for his virtues, ſent a tribune to Seneca, informing him that he was ſuſpected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philoſopher at table with Paulina his wife, and informing him of his buſineſs, Seneca replied without any emotion that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had

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never been accuſtomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do it now. When this anſwer was brought to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca ſeemed afraid to die. The tribune replying that he did not appear in the leaſt terrified; "Then go to him a-"gain," cried the emperor, "and give him my orders "to die." Accordingly he ſent a centurion to Seneca, ſignifying that it was the emperor's pleaſure that he ſhould die. Seneca ſeemed no way diſcompoſed, and was not unmindful of his conſtancy. He endeavoured to conſole his wife for his loſs, and exhort her to a life of perſevering virtue. But ſhe ſeemed reſolved on not ſurviving him, and preſſed her requeſt to be with him ſo earneſtly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at laſt gave his conſent, and the veins of both their arms were opened at the ſame time. As Seneca was old and much enfeebled by the auſterities of his life, the blood flowed but ſlowly, ſo that he cauſed the veins of his legs and thighs to be opened alſo. His pains were long and violent, but they were not capable of repreſſing his fortitude or his eloquence. He dictated a diſcourſe to two ſecretaries, which was read with great avidity after his death by the people, but which has ſince periſhed in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length, he at laſt demanded poiſon from his phyſician; but this alſo failed of its effect, his body being already exhauſted, and incapable of exciting its operation.—He was from this carried into a warm bath, which only ſerved to prolong his end; at length, therefore; he was put into a dry ſtove, the vapour of which quickly diſpatched him. In the mean time, his wife Paulina having fallen into a ſwoon with the loſs of blood, had her arms bound up by her domeſtics, and by this means ſurvived her huſband for ſome years; but by her conduct during the reſt of her life, ſhe ſeemed always mindful of her own love and his example.

The death of Lucan was not leſs remarkable. The veins of his arms being opened after he had loſt a great quantity of blood, perceiving his hands and legs already dead, while the vital parts ſtill continued warm and

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vigorous, he called to mind a deſcription in his own poem of the Pharſalia, of a perſon dying in ſimilar circumſtances, and expired while he was repeating that beautiful paſſage:

" Nec ſicut vulnere ſanguis
" Emicuit lentus. Ruptis cadit undique venis
" ———Pars ultima trunci.
" Tradidit in cetum vacuos, vitalibus artus,
" At tumidos qua pulmo jacet qua viſcera fervent
" Hæſerunt ibi fata diu: Luctataque multum
" Hac cum parte, viri vix omnia membra tulerunt."

U. C. 817. A. D. 66. The death of Petronius about this time is too remarkable to be paſt over in ſilence. This perſon, whom many modern hiſtorians ſuppoſe to be the author of a work of no great merit, entitled Satyricon, which is ſtill remaining, was an Epicurean both in principle and practice. In ſo luxurious a court as that of Nero, he was particularly noted for his refinements in luxury. He was accuſed of being privy to Piſo's conſpiracy, and committed to priſon. Petronius could not endure the anxiety of ſuſpenſe, wherefore he reſolved upon putting himſelf to death, which he performed in a manner entirely ſimilar to that in which he had lived. He opened his veins, and then cloſed them as he thought leaſt painful, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and tranquillity. He converſed with his friends, not upon maxims of philoſophy or grave ſubjects, but upon ſuch topics as had amuſed his gayeſt revels. He liſtened while they recited the lighteſt poems, and by no action, no word, nor circumſtance, ſhewed the perplexity of a dying perſon. Shortly after him, Numicius Thermus was put to death, as likewiſe Barea, Soranus, and Pætus Thraſea. The deſtroying the two laſt Tacitus calls an attack upon virtue itſelf. Thraſea died in the midſt of his friends and philoſophers, converſing and reaſoning on the nature of the ſoul. His wife, who was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, was deſirous of following her mother's example, but he diſſuaded her from it. The death of the valiant Curbulo, who had gained Nero ſo many victories over the Parthians, follow-

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ed next. Nor did the empreſs Poppea herſelf eſcape, whom, in a fit of anger, he kicked when ſhe was pregnant, by which ſhe miſcarried and died. At length human nature grew weary of bearing her perſecutor, and the whole world ſeemed to rouſe as if by common conſent to rid the earth of a monſter.

Sergius Galba, who was at that time governor of Spain, was remarkable for his wiſdom in peace, and his courage in war; but as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he for ſome years had ſeemed willing to court obſcurity, giving himſelf up to an inactive life, and avoiding all opportunity of ſignalizing his valour.

But willing to rid his country of a monſter, he accepted the invitation of Vindex to march with an army towards Rome. The reputation of that general was ſuch, that, from the moment he declared againſt Nero, the tyrant conſidered himſelf as undone. He received the account as he was at ſupper, and inſtantly ſtruck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two cryſtal vaſes of immenſe value. He then fell into a ſwoon, from which, when he recovered, he tore his clothes, and ſtruck his head, crying out, "that he was "utterly undone." He now, therefore, called for Locuſta to furniſh him with poiſon; and thus prepared for the worſt, he retired to the Servilian gardens with a reſolution of flying into Egypt. Being prevented in this, and the revolt becoming general, he went in perſon, from houſe to houſe, but all the doors were ſhut againſt him, and none were found to anſwer his inquiries. Being now reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, he deſired that one of his favourite gladiators might come and diſpatch him; but even in this requeſt there was none found to obey. "Alas!" cried he, "have I nei-"ther friend nor enemy!" And then running deſperately forth, ſeemed reſolved to plunge headlong into the Tiber. But juſt then his courage beginning to fail him, he made a ſudden ſtop, as if willing to recollect his reaſon, and aſked for ſome ſecret place, where he might reaſſume his courage, and meet death with becoming fortitude. In this diſtreſs, Pahon, one of his freed men, offered him his country houſe, about four

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miles distant, where he might for some time remain concealed. Nero accepted his offer, and half dressed as he was, with his head covered, and hiding his face with his handkerchief, he mounted on horseback, attended by four of his domestics, of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey, though short, was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the first alarm. The lightning from heaven next flashed in his face. Round him he heard nothing but confused noises from the camp, and the cries of the soldiers, imprecating a thousand evils upon his head. A passenger meeting him on the way cried, "There go men in pursuit of "Nero." Another asked him if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horse taking fright at a dead body that lay on the road, he dropped his handkerchief; and a soldier who was near addressed him by name.—He now, therefore, quitted his horse, and forsaking the high way, entered a thicket that led towards the back part of Pahon's house, through which he crept, making the best of his way among the reeds and brambles, with which the place was overgrown. During this interval the senate, finding the prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die, "more majorum;" that is, according to the rigour of the ancient laws. When he was told of the resolution of the senate against him, he asked the messenger what was meant by being punished according to the rigour of the ancient laws? to this he was answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, his head was to be fixed in a pillory, and in that posture he was to be scourged to death. Nero was so terrified at this, that he seized two poignards which he had brought with him, and examining their points, returned them to their sheaths, pretending that the fatal moment was not yet arrived. He then desired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were used at funerals: he next entreated that some of his attendants would die, to give him courage by his example; and afterwards began to reproach his own cowardice, crying out, "Does this "become Nero? is this trifling well timed? No, no, "let me be courageous." In fact he had no time to

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ſpare, for the ſoldiers who had been ſent in purſuit of him were juſt then approaching the houſe: wherefore, hearing the ſound of the horſes feet, he ſet a dagger to his throat, with which, by the aſſiſtance of Epaphroditus, his freed man, and ſecretary, he gave himſelf a mortal wound. However, he was not yet quite dead when one of the centurions entering the room, and pretending he came to his relief, attempted to ſtop the blood with his cloak. But Nero, regarding him with a ſtern countenance, ſaid, "It is now too late. Is this "your fidelity?" Upon which, with his eyes fixed, and frightfully ſtaring, he expired, even in death a ghaſtly ſpectacle of innoxious tyranny.

He reigned thirteen years, ſeven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty ſecond year of his age.

Galba was ſeventy two years old when he was declared emperor, and was then in Spain with his legions. However, he ſoon found that his being raiſed to the throne was but an inlet to new diſquietudes. He ſeemed to have three objects in view. To curb the inſolence of the ſoldiers, to puniſh thoſe vices which had come to an enormous height in the laſt reign, and to repleniſh the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality of his predeceſſors. However, permitting himſelf to be governed by favourites, he at one time ſhewed himſelf ſevere and frugal, at another remiſs and prodigal, condemning ſome illuſtrious perſons without any hearing and pardoning others though guilty. In conſequence of this many ſeditions were kindled, and ſeveral factions promoted in different parts of the empire, but particularly in Germany. U. C. 821. A D. 69.

Galba, being informed of theſe commotions, was ſenſible that beſides his age, he was leſs reſpected for want of an heir. He reſolved therefore to put what he had formerly deſigned in execution and to adopt ſome perſon whoſe virtues might deſerve ſuch advancement, and protect his declining age from danger. His favourites underſtanding his determination, inſtantly reſolved on giving him an heir of their own chuſing; ſo that there

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arose a great contention among them upon this occasion. Otho made warm application for himself, alledging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to his assistance when he had declared against Nero. However, Galba, being fully resolved to consult the public good alone, rejected his suit; and on a day appointed, ordered Piso Lucinianus to attend him. The character given by historians of Piso is that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. He was no way related to Galba, and had no other interest but merit to recommend him to his favour. Taking this youth therefore by the hand, in the presence of his friends, he adopted him to succeed in the empire, giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's conduct shewed that he was highly deserving this distinction; in all his deportment there appeared such modesty, firmness, and equality of mind, as bespoke him rather capable of discharging than ambitious of obtaining his present dignity. But the army and the senate did not seem equally disinterested upon this occasion; they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarices. The adoption the refore of Piso was but coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation in a nation of universal depravity.

Otho, who had long been a favourite of Galba, and hoping to be adopted his successor in the empire, finding his hopes disappointed, and still further stimulated by the immense load of debts which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, resolved upon obtaining the empire by force, since he could not by peaceable succession. Having corrupted the fidelity of the soldiers, he stole secretly from the emperor while he was sacrificing; and assembling the soldiers, in a short speech, urged the cruelties, and the avarice of Galba. Finding the invectives received with universal shouts by the whole army, he entirely threw off the mask, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The soldiers, being ripe for sedition, immediately seconded his views: and taking Otho upon their shoulders imme-

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diately declared him emperor; and, to ſtrike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their ſwords drawn, into the camp.

Soon after, finding the emperor in ſome meaſure deſerted by his adherents, the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon him, trampling the crowds of people that then filled the forum under foot. Galba, ſeeing them approach, ſeemed to recollect all his former fortitude; and, bending his head forward, bid the aſſaſſins ſtrike it off if it were for the good of the people. This was quickly performed; and his head being ſet upon the point of a lance, was preſented to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuouſly carried round the camp, his body remaining unburied in the ſtreets, till it was interred by one of his ſlaves.

He died in the ſeventy third year of his age, A. D. 69, after a ſhort reign of ſeven months; as illuſtrious by his own virtues, as it was contaminated by the vices of his favourites, who ſhared in his downfal.

Otho, who was now elected emperor, began his reign by a ſignal inſtance of clemency in pardoning Marius Celſus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and not contented with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the higheſt honours; aſſerting, that "fidelity deſerved every reward."

In the mean time, the legions in Lower Germany, having been purchaſed by the large gifts and ſpecious promiſes of Vitellius their general, were at length induced to proclaim him emperor; and, regardleſs of the ſenate, they declared, that they had an equal right to appoint to that high ſtation with the cohorts at Rome.

Otho departed from Rome with all haſte, to give Vitellius battle. The army of Vitellius, which conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand men, was commanded by his generals Valens and Cecinna, he himſelf remaining in Gaul, in order to bring up the reſt of his forces. Both ſides haſtened to meet each other with ſo much animoſity and precipitation, that three conſiderable battles were fought in the ſpace of three days. One near Placentia, another near Cremona, and a third at a place called Caſtor; in all which Otho and the Romans had the advantage. But theſe ſucceſſes were but of ſhort lived continuance, for

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Valens and Cecinna, who had hitherto acted separately joining their forces, and reinforcing their armies with fresh supplies, resolved to come to a general engagement. In this Otho's forces were totally overthrown, and he killed himself shortly after, having reigned three months and five days.

Vitellius was immediately after declared emperor by the senate, and received the marks of distinction which were now accustomed to follow the appointments of the strongest side. A. D. 70.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he entered the city not as a place he came to govern with justice, but as a town that was become his own by the laws of conquest.

Vitellius soon gave himself up to all kinds of luxury and profuseness; but gluttony was his favourite vice, so that he brought himself to an habit of vomiting in order to be able to renew his meals at pleasure. His entertainments, though seldom at his own cost, were prodigiously expensive; he frequently invited himself to the tables of his subjects, breakfasting with one, dining with another, and supping with a third, all in the same day.

By the continuance of such vices, added to enormous cruelties, he became not only a burden to himself, but odious to all mankind. Thus, having become insupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the east, who had at first acquiesced in his dominions, began to revolt, and shortly after unanimously resolved to make Vespasian emperor.

During the preparations against him, Vitellius, though buried in sloth and luxury, was resolved to make an effort to defend the empire; wherefore, his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered to make all possible preparations to resist the invaders. The first army that entered Italy, with an hostile intention, was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna near Cremona. A battle was expected to ensue, but a negociation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed upon to change sides, and declare for Vespasian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done, and, imprisoning their general, attacked Antonius, though without a leader. The engagement continued during the whole night; and in the morning, after a

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ſhort repaſt, both armies engaged a ſecond time; when the ſoldiers of Antonius, ſaluting the riſing ſun, according to cuſtom, the Vitellians, ſuppoſing that they had received new reinforcements, betook themſelves to flight, with the loſs of thirty thouſand men.

In the mean time, Vitellius, who was wallowing in all kinds of luxury and exceſs, made offers to Veſpaſian of reſigning the empire, provided his life was ſpared, and a ſufficient revenue allotted for his ſupport. In order to enforce this requeſt, he iſſued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domeſtics weeping around him. He then went to offer the ſword of juſtice to Cecilius the conſul, which he refuſing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the enſigns of empire in the temple of Concord; but being interrupted by ſome who cried out that he himſelf was Concord, he reſolved upon ſo weak an encouragement, ſtill to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

During this fluctuation of counſels, one Sabinus, who had adviſed Vitellius to reſign, perceiving his deſperate ſituation, reſolved, by a bold ſtep, to oblige Veſpaſian, and accordingly ſeized upon the capitol. But he was premature in his attempt; for the ſoldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury, and, prevailing by their numbers, ſoon laid that beautiful building in aſhes. During this dreadful conflagration Vitellius was feaſting in the palace of Tiberius, and beholding all the horrors of the aſſault with great ſatisfaction. Sabinus was taken priſoner, and ſhortly after executed by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, eſcaped by flight in the habit of a prieſt, and all the reſt who ſurvived the fire were put to the ſword.

But Antonius, Veſpaſian's commander, being arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of Vitellius reſolved upon defending it to the utmoſt extremity. It was attacked on three ſides with the utmoſt fury, while the army within, ſallying upon the beſiegers, defended it with equal obſtinacy. The battle laſted a whole day, till at laſt the beſieged were driven into the city, and a dreadful ſlaughter made of them in all the ſtreets which they vainly attempted to defend.

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Vitellius was soon found hidden in an obscure corner, from whence he was taken by a party of the conquering soldiers. Still, however, willing to add a few hours more to his miserable life, he begged to be kept in prison till the arrival of Vespasian at Rome, pretending that he had secrets of importance to discover. But his entreaties were vain, the soldiers binding his hands behind him, and throwing an halter round his neck, led him along half naked into the public forum, upbraiding him, as they proceeded, with all those bitter reproaches their malice could suggest, or his own cruelty might deserve. At length, being come to the place of punishment, they killed him with many blows; and then dragging the dead body through the streets with an hook, they threw it, with all possible ignominy, into the river Tiber.

A.D. 70. Vespasian was now declared emperor by the unanimous consent both of the senate and the army, and dignified with all those titles which now followed rather the power than the merit of those who were appointed to govern.

Having continued some months at Alexandria in Egypt, where it is said he cured a blind and a lame man by touching them, he set out for Rome, giving his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem, while he himself went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate, and near half the inhabitants, who gave the sincerest testimonies of their joy in having an emperor of such great and experienced virtues. Nor did he in the least disappoint their expectations, being equally assiduous in rewarding merit and pardoning his adversaries, in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find protection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own historian represents them as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity, while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conspired to forewarn their approaching ruin. Nor was it sufficient that heaven and earth seemed combined against them; they had the most bitter dissentions among

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themſelves, and were ſplit into two parties, that robbed and deſtroyed each other with impunity, ſtill pillaging, and at the ſame time boaſting their zeal for the religion of their anceſtors.

At the head of one of thoſe parties was an incendiary, whoſe name was John. This fanatic affected ſovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jeruſalem, and all the towns around with tumult and pillage. In a ſhort time, a new faction aroſe, headed by one Simon, who, gathering together multitudes of robbers and murderers who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea into his power. Jeruſalem at length became the theatre in which theſe two demagogues began to exerciſe their mutual animoſity; John was poſſeſſed of the temple, while Simon was admitted into the city, both equally enraged againſt each other, while ſlaughter and devaſtation followed their pretenſions. Thus did a city, formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become the ſeat of tumult and confuſion.

It was in this miſerable ſituation that Titus began his operations within about ſix furlongs of the city of Jeruſalem, during the feaſt of the Paſſover, when the place was filled with an infinite multitude of the people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great ſolemnity. The approach of the Romans produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within the city; ſo that they unanimouſly reſolved to oppoſe the common enemy firſt, and then decide their domeſtic quarrels at a more convenient ſeaſon. Their firſt ſally, which was made with much fury and reſolution, put the beſiegers into great diſorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city, while Titus in perſon ſhewed ſurpriſing inſtances of valour and conduct.

Theſe advantages over the Romans only renewed in the beſieged the deſire of private revenge. A tumult enſued in the temple, in which ſeveral of both parties were ſlain; and in this manner upon every remiſſion from without, the factions of John and Simon violently raged againſt each other within, agreeing only in their reſolution to defend the city againſt the Romans.

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The city was ſtrongly fortified by three walls on every ſide, except where it was fenced by deep vallies. Titus, began by battering down the outward wall; which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected, all the time ſhewing the greateſt clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated aſſurances of pardon. Five days after the commencement of the ſiege, Titus broke through the ſecond wall; and though driven back by the beſieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparation for battering the third wall, which was their laſt defence. But firſt, he ſent Joſephus, their countryman, into the city to exhort them to yield; who, uſing all his eloquence to perſuade them, was only reviled with ſcoffs and reproaches. The ſiege was now therefore carried on with greater vigour than before; ſeveral batteries for engines were raiſed, which were no ſooner built than deſtroyed by the enemy. At length it was reſolved in council to ſurround the whole city with a trench and thus prevent all relief and ſuccours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, ſeemed no way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine, and peſtilence its neceſſary attendant, began to make the moſt horrid ravages among them, yet this deſperate people ſtill reſolved to hold out. He now cut down all the woods within a conſiderable diſtance of the city, and cauſing more batteries to be raiſed, he at length battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. The Jews, however continued to deceive themſelves with abſurd and falſe expectations, while many falſe prophets deluded the multitude, declaring they ſhould ſoon have aſſiſtance from God. The heat of the battle was now therefore gathered round the inner wall of the temple while the defendants deſperately combated from the top. Titus was willing to ſave this beautiful ſtructure; but a ſoldier caſting a brand into ſome adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the temple; and notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours on both ſides the edifice was quickly conſumed. The ſight of the temple in ruins effectually ſerved to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to perceive that heaven had forſaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adjacent mountains. Even thoſe who were almoſt expiring lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loſs of their temple,

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which they valued more than life itſelf. The moſt reſolute however, ſtill endeavored to defend the upper and ſtronger part of the city, named Sion; but Titus, with his battering engines, ſoon made himſelf entire maſter of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults where they had concealed themſelves; the former was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and the latter reſerved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greateſt part of the populace were put to the ſword, and the city was, after a ſix month's ſiege entirely razed by the plough; ſo that according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one ſtone remained upon another. The numbers who periſhed in this ſiege, according to Joſephus, amounted to above a million of ſouls, and the captives to almoſt an hundred thouſand.

Upon the taking of Jeruſalem, his ſoldiers would have crowned Titus as a conqueror, but he modeſtly refuſed the honour, alledging that he was only an inſtrument in the hand of Heaven, that manifeſtly declared its wrath againſt the Jews. At Rome, however, all men's mouths were filled with the praiſes of the conqueror, who had not only ſhewn himſelf an excellent general, but a courageous combatant: his return therefore in triumph, which he did with his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy that was in the power of men to expreſs. All things that were eſteemed valuable or beautiful among men were brought to adorn this great occaſion. Among the rich ſpoils were expoſed vaſt quantities of gold taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the leaſt remarkable among the magnificent profuſion. This was the firſt time that ever Rome ſaw the father and the ſon triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occaſion, on which were deſcribed all the victories of Titus over the Jews, which remain almoſt entire to this very day. Veſpaſian likewiſe built a temple to Peace, wherein were depoſited moſt of the Jewiſh ſpoils; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he ſhut up the temple of Janus which had been open about five or ſix years.

Few emperors have received a better character from hiſtorians than Veſpaſian, yet all his numerous acts of generoſity and magnificence could not preſerve his character from the imputation of rapacity and avarice. He de-

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ſcended to ſome very unuſual and diſhonourable impoſts, even to the laying a tax upon urine. When his ſon Titus remonſtrated againſt the meanneſs of ſuch a tax, Veſpaſian, taking a piece of money, demanded if the ſmell offended him, adding, that this very money was produced by urine.

Notwithſtanding, having reigned ten years, loved by his ſubjects, and deſerving their affection, he was ſurpriſed with an indiſpoſition at Campania, which from the beginning he declared would be fatal; and perceiving his end approaching, as he was juſt going to expire, he cried out, that an emperor ought to die ſtanding; wherefore, raiſing himſelf upon his feet, he expired in the hands of thoſe that ſuſtained him.

A. D. 79. Titus, being joyfully received as emperor, began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became a ſovereign and a man. During the life of his father there had been many imputations againſt him, both for cruelty, luſt and prodigality; but upon his exaltation to the throne, he ſeemed entirely to take leave of his former vices, and became an example of the greateſt moderation and humanity. His firſt ſtep towards gaining the affections of his ſubjects, was his moderating his paſſions and bridling his ſtrong inclinations. He had long loved Bernice, ſiſter to Agrippa, king of Judea, a woman of the greateſt beauty and the moſt refined allurements. But knowing that the connection with her was entirely diſagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained a victory over his affections, and ſent her away, notwithſtanding their mutual paſſion, and the many arts ſhe uſed to induce him to change his reſolutions. He next diſcarded all thoſe who had been the former miniſters of his pleaſures, and forbore to countenance the companions of his looſer recreations, though he had formerly taken great pains in the ſelection. This moderation, added to his juſtice and generoſity, procured him the love of all good men, and the appellation of the delight of mankind, which all his actions ſeemed calculated to enſure.

Titus took particular care to puniſh all informers, falſe witneſſes, and promoters of diſſention. Thoſe wretches, who had their riſe in the licentiouſneſs and impunity of former reigns, were now become ſo numerous that their

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crimes called loudly for punishment. Of these therefore he daily made public examples, condemning them to be scourged in the most public streets, next to be dragged through the theatre, and then to be banished into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or sold as slaves. His courtesy and readiness to do good have been celebrated even by Christian writers, his principal rule being never to send any petitioner dissatisfied away. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind the day preceding, he cried out, among his friends, "I have lost a day!" A sentence too remarkable not to be universally known.

Learning that two noblemen had conspired against him, he readily forgave them; and the next day, placing them next himself in the theatre, he put the swords with which the gladiators fought into their hands, demanding their judgment and approbation whether they were of sufficient length.

In this reign an eruption of mount Vesuvius did considerable damage, overwhelming many towns, and throwing its ashes into countries more than an hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life; for, being impelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruption, he was suffocated in the flames. There happened also about this time a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights successively, being followed by a plague, in which ten thousand men were buried in a day. The emperor, however, did all that lay in his power to repair the damages sustained by the public; and, with respect to the city, declared that he would take the whole loss of that upon himself.

These disasters were in some measure counterbalanced by the successes in Britain under Agricola. This excellent general having been sent into that country towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, shewed himself equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing those who had formerly submitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the first that were subdued. He then made a descent upon Mona, or the island of Anglesey, which surrendered at discretion. Having thus rendered himself master of the whole country, he took every method to restore discipline to his

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own army, and to introduce some share of politeness among those whom he had conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples, theatres, and stately houses. He caused the sons of their nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts; he had them taught the Latin language, and induced them to imitate the Roman modes of dress and living. Thus, by degrees, this barbarous people began to assume the luxurious manner of their conquerors, and in some time even to outdo them in all the refinements of sensual pleasures. Upon account of these successes in Britain, Titus was saluted emperator the fifteenth time; but he did not long survive this honour, being surprised by a violent fever at a little distance from Rome. He expired shortly after, but not without suspicion of treachery from his brother Domitian, who had long wished to govern. His death was in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned two years, two months and twenty days.

A. D. 81. The beginning of Domitian's reign was universally acceptable to the people, as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality, and justice.

But he soon began to shew the natural deformity of his mind. Instead of cultivating literature, as his father and brother had done, he neglected all kinds of study, addicting himself wholly to meaner pursuits, particularly archery and gaming. He was so very expert an archer, that he would frequently cause one of his slaves to stand at a great distance, with his hands spread as a mark, and would shoot his arrows with such exactness as to stick them all between his fingers. He instituted three sorts of contests to be observed every five years, in music, horsemanship, and wrestling; but at the same time he banished all philosophers, and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor before him entertained the people with such various and expensive shows. During these diversions he distributed great rewards, sitting as president himself, adorned with a purple robe and crown, with the priests of Jupiter and the college of Flavian priests about him. The meanness of his occupations in solitude was just a contrast to his exhibitions of public ostentation. He usually spent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and stick-

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ing them through with a bodkin; so that one of his servants being asked if the emperor were alone? answered, That he had not so much as a fly to bear him company.

His vices seemed every day to increase with the duration of his reign. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola seemed the first symptom of his natural malevolence.—Domitian was always particularly fond of obtaining a military reputation, and therefore jealous of it in others. He had marched some time before into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany, and, without ever seeing the enemy, resolved to have the honour of a triumph upon his return to Rome. For that purpose he purchased a number of slaves, whom he dressed in German habits, and at the head of this military procession, entered the city amidst the apparent acclamations and concealed contempt of all his subjects. The successes therefore of Agricola in Britain affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This admirable general pursued the advantages which he had already obtained. He subdued the Caledonians, and overcame Galcacus, the British chief, at the head of thirty thousand men; and afterwards sending out a fleet to scour the coast, first discovered Great-Britain to be an island. He likewise discovered and subdued the Orkneys, and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of these successes was brought to Domitian, he received it with a seeming pleasure, but real uneasiness. He thought Agricola's rising reputation a tacit reproach upon his own inactivity; and, instead of attempting to emulate, he resolved to suppress the merit of his services. He ordered him therefore external marks of approbation, and took care that triumphant ornaments, statues, and other honours should be decreed him; but at the same time he removed him from his command, under a pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria. By these means Agricola surrendered up his province to Salustius Lucullus, but soon found that Syria was otherwise disposed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately, and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and dying some time after in retirement, it was supposed by some that his end was hastened by Domitian's direction. Domitian soon after

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found the want of so experienced a commander in the many irruptions of the barbarous nations that surrounded the empire. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with those of Asia, made a formidable invasion, at once destroying a whole legion and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, under the conduct of Decebalus their king, made an irruption, and overthrew the Romans in several engagements. At last, however the barbarians were repelled, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of money, which only served to enable them to make future invasions with greater advantage. But in whatever manner the enemy might have been repelled, Domitian was resolved not to lose the honours of a triumph. He returned in great splendour to Rome; and not contented with thus triumphing twice without a victory, he resolved to take the surname of Germanicus for his conquests over a people with whom he never contended.

In proportion as the ridicule increased against him, his pride seemed every day to demand greater homage. He would permit his statues to be made only of gold and silver; he assumed to himself divine honours, and ordered that all men should treat him with the same appellations which they gave to the divinity. His cruelty was not behind his arrogance; he caused numbers of the most illustrious senators and others to be put to death upon the most trifling pretences. One Ælius Lama was condemned and executed only for jesting, though there was neither novelty nor poignancy in his humour. Cocceanus was murdered only for celebrating the nativity of Otho. Pomposianus shared the same fate, because it was foretold by an astrologer that he should be emperor. Salustius Lucullus, his lieutenant in Britain, was destroyed only for having given his name to a new sort of lances of his own invention. Junius Rusticus died for publishing a book, in which he commended Thrasea and Priscus, two philosophers, who opposed Vespasian's coming to the throne.

Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, knowing how much the emperor was detested at home, resolved upon striking for the throne, and accordingly assumed the ensigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, his success remained a long time doubtful; but a sudden overflowing of the Rhine divid-

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ing his army, he was set upon at that juncture by Normandus the emperor's general, and totally routed. The news of this victory, we are told, was brought to Rome by supernatural means on the same day that the battle was fought. Domitian's severity was greatly increased by this short lived success. In order to discover those who were accomplices with the adverse party, he invented new tortures, sometimes cutting off the hands, at other times thrusting fire into the privates of those whom he suspected of being his enemies. During his severities, he aggravated his guilt by hypocrisy, never pronouncing sentence without a preamble full of gentleness and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his household he treated him with the most seeming friendship, and ordered him a dish of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter the day he had concluded upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the senate and nobility, the whole body of whom he frequently threatened to extirpate entirely. At one time he surrounded the senate-house with his troops, to the great consternation of the senators. At another, he resolved to amuse himself with their terrors in a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a spacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps that diffused light only sufficient to shew the horrors of the place. All around were to be seen nothing but coffins, with the names of each of the senators written upon them, together with other objects of terror, and instruments of execution. While the company beheld all these preparations with silent agony, several men, having their bodies blackened, each with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and danced round them. After some time, when the guests expected nothing less than the most instant death, well knowing Domitian's capricious cruelty, the doors were set open, and one of the servants came to inform them that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw. These cruelties were rendered still more odious by his lust and avarice. Fre-

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quently after preſiding at an execution, he would retire with the lewdeſt proſtitutes, and uſe the ſame baths which they did. The laſt part of the tyrant's reign was more unſupportable than any of the preceding. Nero exerciſed his cruelties without being a ſpectator; but a principal part of the Roman miſeries, during his reign, was to ſee and be ſeen; to behold the ſtern air and fiery viſage of the tyrant, which he had armed againſt bluſhing by continued intemperance, directing the tortures, and maliciouſly pleaſed with adding poignance to every agony.

But a period was ſoon to be put to this monſter's cruelties. Among the number of thoſe whom he at once careſſed and ſuſpected was his wife Domitia, whom he had taken from Ælius Lama, her former huſband. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all ſuch as he intended to deſtroy in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumſpection. Domitia fortunately happening to get a ſight of them, was ſtruck at finding her own name in the catalogue of thoſe fated to deſtruction. She ſhewed the fatal liſt to Norbanus and Petronius, præfects of the prætorian bands, who found themſelves ſet down; as likewiſe to Stephanus, the comptroller of the houſehold, who came into the conſpiracy with alacrity. They fixed upon the eighteenth day of September for the completion of their great attempt. Upon preparing to go to the bath on the morning of that day, Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him that Stephanus the comptroller of the houſehold deſired to ſpeak to him upon an affair of the utmoſt importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants ſhould retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a ſcarf, which he had worn thus for ſome days, the better to conceal a dagger, as none were permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began by giving information of a pretended conſpiracy, and exhibited a paper in which the particulars were ſpecified. While Domitian was reading the contents with an eager curioſity, Stephanus drew the dagger, and ſtruck him in the groin. The wound not being mortal, Domitian caught hold of the aſſaſſin, and threw him upon the ground, calling out for aſſiſtance. But Parthenius with his freed man, a gladiator, and two ſub-

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altern officers, now coming in, they ran all furiously upon the emperor, and dispatched him wih seven wounds.

It is almost incredible what some writers relate concerning Apollonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephesus. This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who more probably was nothing more than an impostor, was just, at the minute in which Domitian was slain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city. But, stopping short all of a sudden, he cried out, "Courage, Stephanus, strike the tyrant." And then, after a pause, "rejoice, my friends, the tyrant dies this "day; this day, do I say! the very moment in which "I kept silence he suffers for his crimes; he dies!"

Many more prodigies were said to have portended his death, but the fate of such a monster seemed to produce more preternatural disturbances, and more predictions than it deserved. The truth seems to be, that a belief in omens and prodigies was again become prevalent; the people were again relapsing into pristine barbarity: a country of ignorance is ever the proper soil for an harvest of imposture.

CHAP. XXIII.

The five good Emperors of Rome.

[A. D. 96.]

WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was slain, the senate began to load his memory with every reproach. His statues were commanded to be taken down, and a decree was made, that all his inscriptions should be erazed, his name struck out of the registers of Fame, and his funeral omitted. The people, who now took little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the soldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours, and enriched by largesses, sincerely regretted their benefactor.

The senate therefore resolved to provide a successor before the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themselves; and Cocceius Nerva was chosen to the empire the very day on which the tyrant

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was slain. He was of an illustrious family, as most say, by birth a Spaniard, and above sixty-five years old when he was called to the throne. He was at that time the most remarkable man in Rome, for his virtues, moderation and respect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blameless conduct of his former life.

The people, being long accustomed to tyranny, regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture, and even gave his embecility (for his humanity was carried too far for justice) the name of benevolence. Upon coming to the throne, he solemnly swore that no senator of Rome should be put to death by his command, during his reign, tho' they gave ever so just a cause. This oath he so religiously observed, that when two senators had conspired his death, he used no kind of severity against them; but sending for them, to let them see he was not ignorant of their designs, he carried them with him to the public theatre: there presenting each a dagger, he desired them to strike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow. During his short reign he made several good laws. He particularly prohibited the castration of male children; which had been likewise condemned by his predecessor, but not wholly removed. He put all those slaves to death who had, during the last reign informed against their masters. He permitted no statues to be erected to his honour, and converted such of Domitian's as had been spared by the senate into money. He sold many rich robes, and much of the splendid furniture of the palace, and retrenched several unreasonable expences at court. At the same time he had so little regard for money, that when one of his subjects found a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor how to dispose of it, he received for answer that he might use it; but the finder still informing the emperor, that it was a fortune too large for a private person, Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word that then he might abuse it.

A life of such generosity and mildness was not however without its enemies. Vigilius Rufus, who had opposed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the consulship. Calpurnius Crassus also with some others, formed a conspiracy to destroy him; but he rested satisfi(with banishing those who were culpable, though

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the ſenate were for inflicting more rigorous puniſhments. But the moſt dangerous inſurrection againſt his intereſts was from the prætorian bands, who, headed by Caſparius Olianus, inſiſted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whoſe memory was ſtill dear to them from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whoſe kindneſs to good men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to ſtop the progreſs of this inſurrection; he preſented himſelf to the mutinous ſoldiers, and opening his boſom, deſired them to ſtrike there rather than be guilty of ſo much injuſtice. The ſoldiers however paid no regard to his remonſtrances, but ſeizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, ſlew them in the moſt ignominious manner.—Not content with this, they even compelled the emperor to approve of their ſedition, and to make a ſpeech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So diſagreeable a conſtraint upon the emperor's inclinations was, in the end, attended with the moſt happy effects, as it cauſed the adoption of Trajan to ſucceed him. For, perceiving that, in the preſent turbulent diſpoſition of the times, he ſtood in need of an aſſiſtant in the empire, ſetting aſide all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpius Trajan, an utter ſtranger to his family, who was then governor in Upper Germany, as his ſucceſſor. And in about three months after, having put himſelf into a violent paſſion with one Regulus a ſenator, he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died, after a ſhort reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the firſt foreign emperor who reigned in Rome, and juſtly reputed a prince of great generoſity and moderation. He is alſo celebrated for his wiſdom, though with leſs reaſon, the greateſt inſtance he gave of it during his reign being the choice of his ſucceſſor.

Trajan's family was originally from Italy, but he himſelf was born at Seville in Spain. Upon being informed of the death of Nerva, he prepared to return to Rome from Germany, where he was governor: and one of the firſt lectures he received upon his arrival was from Plutarch, the philoſopher, who had the honour of being his maſter, and is ſaid to have written him a letter to the following purpoſe:—"Since your merits, and not your importunities, have "advanced you to the empire, permit me to congratu- U.C. 851. A. D. 98.

" late your virtues and my own fortune. If your future " government prove anſwerable to your former worth I " ſhall be happy; but if you become worſe for power, " your's will be the danger, and mine the ignominy of " your conduct. The errors of the pupil will be charged " upon his inſtructor. Seneca is reproached for the enor- " mities of Nero; and Socrates and Quintillian have " not eſcaped cenſure for the miſconduct of their re- " ſpective ſcholars. But you have it in your power to " make me the moſt honoured of men, by continuing " what you are. Continue the command of your paſſions, " and make virtue the ſcope of all your actions. If you " follow theſe inſtructions, then will I glory in my having " preſumed to give them; if you neglect what I offer, " then will this letter be my teſtimony that you have not " erred through the counſel and authority of Plutarch." I have inſerted this letter, whether genuine or not, becauſe it ſeems to me well written, and a ſtriking picture of this great philoſopher's manner of addreſſing that beſt of princes.

This good monarch's application to buſineſs, his moderation to his enemies, his modeſty in exaltation, his liberality to the deſerving, and his frugality in his own expences, have all been the ſubject of panegyric among his cotemporaries; and they continue to be the admiration of poſterity.

Upon giving the præfect of the prætorian bands the ſword, according to cuſtom, he made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion: " Take this ſword, and uſe it, if I have " merit for me; if otherwiſe, againſt me." After which he added, that he who gave laws was the firſt who was bound to obſerve them.

The firſt war he was engaged in after his coming to the throne was with the Dacians, who during the reign of Domitian, had committed numberleſs ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raiſed a powerful army, and, with great expedition marched into thoſe barbarous countries, where he was vigorouſly oppoſed by Decebalus, the Dacian king, who, for a long time, withſtood his boldeſt efforts. At length, however, this monarch being conſtrained to come to a general battle, and no longer able to protract the war, he was routed with great ſlaughter, though not without great

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loſs to the conquerors. The Roman ſoldiers upon this occaſion wanting linen to bind up their wounds, the emperor tore his own robes to ſupply them. This victory compelled the enemy to ſue for peace, which they obtained upon very diſadvantageous terms; their king coming into the Roman camp, and acknowledging himſelf a vaſſal of the Roman empire.

Upon Trajan's return, after the uſual triumphs and rejoicings upon ſuch an occaſion were over, he was ſurpriſed with an account that the Dacians had renewed hoſtilities. Decebalus their king was now therefore a ſecond time adjudged an enemy to the Roman ſtate, and Trajan invaded his dominions with an army equal to that with which he had before ſubdued him. But Decebalus, now grown more cautious by his former defeat, uſed every art to avoid coming to an engagement. He alſo put various ſtratagems in practice to diſtreſs the enemy; and at one time Trajan himſelf was in danger of being ſlain or taken. He alſo took Longinus, one of the Roman generals, priſoner, and threatened to kill him in caſe Trajan refuſed granting him terms of peace. But the emperor replied, that peace and war had not their dependence upon the ſafety of one ſubject only; wherefore Longinus ſome time after deſtroyed himſelf by a voluntary death. The fate of this general ſeemed to give new vigour to Trajan's operations. In order to be better enabled to invade the enemy's territories at pleaſure, he undertook a moſt ſtupendous work, which was no leſs than building a bridge acroſs the Danube. This amazing ſtructure, which was built over a deep, broad, and rapid river, conſiſted of more than twenty-two arches, an hundred and fifty feet high, and an hundred and ſeventy broad: the ruins of this ſtructure, which remain to this day, ſhew modern architects how far they were ſurpaſſed by the ancients, both in the greatneſs and the boldneſs of their deſigns. Upon finiſhing this work, Trajan continued the war with great vigour, ſharing with the meaneſt of his ſoldiers the fatigues of the campaign, and continually encouraging them to their duty by his own example. By theſe means, notwithſtanding the country was ſpacious and uncultivated, and the inhabitants brave and hardy, he ſubdued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia as a province to the Roman empire. De-

cebalus made some attempts to escape: but being surrounded on every side, he at last slew himself, and his head was sent immediately to Rome to certify his misfortune there. These successes seemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of splendour than it had hitherto acquired. Ambassadors were seen to come from the interior parts of India, to congratulate Trajan's success, and bespeak his friendship. At his return to Rome he entered the city in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories lasted for the space of an hundred and twenty days.

Having given peace and prosperity to the empire, he continued his reign, loved, honoured, and almost adored by his subjects. He adorned the city with public buildings: he freed it from such men as lived by their vices; he entertained persons of merit with the utmost familiarity; and so little feared his enemies, that he could scarcely be induced to suppose he had any.

It had been happy for this great prince's memory, if he had shewn equal clemency to all his subjects; but about the ninth year of his reign, he was persuaded to look upon the Christians with a suspicious eye; and great numbers of them were put to death, as well by popular tumults as by edicts and judicial proceedings. However, the persecution ceased after some time; for the emperor having advice from Pliny, the proconsul in Bithynia, of the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, and of their inoffensive and moral way of living, he suspended their punishments.

U. C. 860.
A. D. 107.

During this emperor's reign there was a dreadful insurrection of the Jews in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, still infatuated and ever expecting some signal deliverance, took the advantage of Trajan's absence in the east, in an expedition he had undertaken against the Armenians and Parthians, to massacre all the Greeks and Romans which they got into their power, without reluctance or mercy. This rebellion first began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; from thence the flames extended to Egypt, and next to the island of Cyprus. These places they in a manner dispeopled with ungovernable fury. Their barbarities were such that they ate the flesh of their enemies, wore their skins, saw-

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ed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill each other, and studied new torments by which to destroy them. However, these cruelties were of no long duration; the governors of the respective provinces making head against their tumultuous fury, soon treated them with a retaliation of cruelty, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society. As the Jews had practised their cruelties in Cyprus particularly, a law was publicly enacted, by which it was made capital for any Jew to set foot on the island.

During these bloody transactions, Trajan was prosecuting his successes in the east, where he carried the Roman arms farther than they had ever been before: but, resolving to return once more to Rome, he found himself too weak to proceed in his usual manner. He therefore ordered himself to be carried on shipboard to the city of Seleucia, where he died of the apoplexy, having been attacked by that disorder once before in the sixty-third year of his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days. A.D.117.

Adrian, who was nephew to Trajan, was adopted to succeed in the empire, and elected by all orders of the state, though absent from Rome, being then at Antioch, as general of the forces in the east.

Upon his election, he began to pursue a course quite opposite to that of his predecessor, taking every method of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was quite satisfied with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, and seemed no way ambitious of extensive conquest.

Adrian was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments; he was highly skilful in all the accomplishments both of body and mind; he composed, with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time: nor were his moral virtues less than his accomplishments. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet but a private man. One day, meeting a person who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "my good friend," cried he, "you have escaped, "for I am made emperor." He was affable to his friends,

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d gentle to perſons of meaner ſtations; he relieved eir wants, and viſited them in ſickneſs; it being his nſtant maxim, that he was an emperor, not elected r his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

Theſe were his virtues, which were contraſted by a ange mixture of vices; or, to ſay the truth, he wanted ength of mind to preſerve his general rectitude of cha-cter without deviation.

He was ſcarce ſettled on the throne when ſeveral of e northern barbarians, the Alani, the Sarmatians, and e Dacians, began to make devaſtations on the empire. neſe hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, iſſuing from their foreſts, and then retiring upon the proach of a ſuperior force oppoſing them, began to be ily formidable to Rome. Adrian had thoughts of con-acting the limits of the empire, by giving up ſome of e moſt remote and leaſt defenſible provinces; but in is he was over-ruled by his friends, who wrongly ima-ned that an extenſive frontier would intimidate an in-ding enemy. But though he complied with their re-onſtrances, he broke down the bridge over the Danube hich his predeceſſor had built, ſenſible that the ſame ſſage which was open to him was equally convenient the incurſions of his barbarous neighbours.

Having ſtaid a ſhort time at Rome, ſo as to ſee that l things were regulated and eſtabliſhed for the ſafety of e public, he prepared to viſit, and take a view of his hole empire. It was one of his maxims, that an empe-r ought to imitate the ſun, which diffuſed warmth and gour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took ith him a ſplendid court, and a conſiderable force, and tered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the habitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, from ence to Holland, and then paſſed over into Britain; ere reforming many abuſes, and reconciling the natives the Romans. For the better ſecurity of the ſouthern rts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth, tending from the river Eden in Cumberland to the Tyne Northumberland, to prevent the incurſions of the Picts d other barbarous nations to the north. From Britain turning through Gaul, he directed his journey to Spain, here he was received with great joy, as being a native

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of that country. There, wintering in the city of Tarragona, he called a meeting of all the deputies from the provinces, and ordained many things for the benefit of the nation. From Spain, returning to Rome, he continued there for some time in order to prepare for his journey into the east, which was hastened by a new invasion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he pursued his travels, without molestation. Arriving in Asia Minor, he turned out of his way to visit the famous city of Athens. There, making a considerable stay, he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, which were accounted most sacred in the Pagan mythology, and took upon him the office of archon or chief magistrate of the place. In this place also he remitted the severity of the Christian persecution at the representation of Granianus, the pro-consul of Asia, who represented the people of that persuasion as no way culpable. He was even so far reconciled to them as to think of receiving Christ among the number of the gods. After a winter's continuance at Athens he went over into Sicily, and visted Ætna, and the other curiosities of the place. Returning from thence once more to Rome, after a short stay he prepared ships, and crossed over into Africa. There he spent much time in regulating abuses, and reforming the government; in deciding controversies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Among the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt, calling it after his own name, Adrianople. Again returning to Rome, where he stayed but a very little time, he travelled a second time into Greece, passed over into Asia Minor; from thence went into Syria, gave laws and instructions to all the neighbouring kings, whom he invited to come and consult with him; he then entered Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, that had been long neglected and almost covered with sand, to be renewed and beautified. He also gave orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which was performed with great expedition by the assistance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being restored to their long lost kingdom. But these expectations only served to aggravate their calamites; for being incensed at the privileges which were granted the Pagan worshippers in their new city, they fell upon the

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Romans and Christians that were dispersed throughout Judea, and unmercifully put them all to the sword. Adrian was at Athens when this dangerous insurrection began; wherefore, sending a powerful body of men under the command of Julius Severus against them, this general obtained many signal though bloody victories over the insurgents. The war was concluded in two years, by the demolition of above a thousand of their best towns, and the destruction of near six hundred thousand men in battle.

He then banished all those who remained out of Judea; and by a public decree forbade any to come within view of their native soil. This insurrection was soon after followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire, who, entering Media with great fury, and passing through Armenia, carried their devastations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian preferring peace upon any terms to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large sums of money; so that they returned peaceably into their native wilds to enjoy their plunder, and meditate fresh invasions.

Having spent thirteen years in travelling through his dominions, and reforming the abuses of the empire, he at last resolved to return and end all his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people than his resolution of coming to reside for the rest of his days among them: they received him with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he remitted not the least of his former assiduity and application to the public welfare. His chief amusement was in conversing with the most celebrated men in every art and science, frequently boasting that he thought no kind of knowledge inconsiderable, or to be neglected either in his private or public capacity. Adrian was so fond of literary fame, that, we are told, he wrote his own life, and afterwards gave it to his servants to publish under their names. But whatever might have been his weakness in aiming at universal reputation, he was in no part of his reign remiss in attending the duties of his exalted station. He ordered the knights and senators never to appear in public but in the proper habits of their orders. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, as had

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been before allowed, but ordained that they should be tried by the laws enacted against capital offences. A law so just, had he done nothing more, deserved to have ensured his reputation with posterity, and to have made him dear to mankind. He still further extended the lenity of the laws to those unhappy men who had been long thought too mean for justice. If a master was found killed in his house, he would not allow all his slaves to be put to the torture as formerly, but only such as might have perceived or prevented the murder.

In such employments he consumed the greatest part of his time; but at last, finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally upon the decline, he resolved upon adopting a successor. Marcus Antoninus, afterwards surnamed the Pious, was the person he pitched upon; but previously obliged him to adopt two others, namely, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, all of whom afterwards succeeded in the empire.

While he was thus careful in appointing a successor, his bodily infirmities became so insupportable that he vehemently desired some of his attendants would dispatch him. Antoninus, however, would by no means permit any of his domestics to be guilty of so great an impiety, but used all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to sustain life. His pains increasing every day, he was frequently heard to cry out, "How miserable a thing it "is to seek death and not to find it!" In this deplorable exigence he resolved on going to Baiæ, where the tortures of his disease increasing, they affected his understanding. Continuing for some time in these excruciating circumstances, he was at last resolved to observe no regimen, often saying that kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians. This conduct served to hasten that death he seemed so ardently to desire; and it was probably joy upon its approach which dictated the celebrated stanzas which are so well known, and in repeating which he expired, in the sixty-second year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years and eleven months.

Titus Antoninus, his successor, was born in the city of Nismes in Gaul. His father was a nobleman of an ancient family that had enjoy- U. C. 891. A. D. 138.

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ed the higheſt honours of the ſtate. At the time of his ſucceeding to the throne he was about fifty years old, and had paſſed through many of the moſt important offices of the ſtate with great integrity and application.—His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation, as he ſhewed himſelf one of the moſt excellent princes for juſtice, clemency and moderation. His morals were ſo pure that he was uſually compared to Numa, and was ſurnamed the Pious, both for his tenderneſs to his predeceſſor Adrian when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large penſions and great honours, drawing them from all parts of the world. Among the reſt, he ſent for Appollonius, the famous ſtoic philoſopher, to inſtruct his adopted ſon Marcus Aurelius, whom he had previouſly married to his daughter. Appollonius being arrived at Rome, the emperor deſired his attendance, but the other arrogantly anſwered, That it was the ſcholar's duty to wait upon the maſter, and not the maſter's upon the ſcholar. To this reply Antoninus only returned with a ſmile, "That it was ſurpriſing how Appollonius, who made no "difficulty of coming from Greece to Rome, ſhould think "it ſo hard to walk from one part of Rome to another," and immediately ſent Marcus Aurelius to him. While the good emperor was thus employed in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example or reproving their follies with the keenneſs of rebuke, he was ſeized with a violent fever at Lorium, a pleaſure-houſe at ſome diſtance from Rome; where, finding himſelf ſenſibly decaying, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their preſence he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without once naming Lucius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the ſucceſſion; then commanding the golden ſtatue of Fortune, which was always in the chambers of the emperors, to be removed to that of his ſucceſſor, he expired in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, after a proſperous reign of twenty-two years, and almoſt eight months.

U.C. 914. A.D. 161. Marcus Aurelius, though left ſole ſucceſſor to the throne, took Lucius Verus as his aſſociate and equal in governing the ſtate. Aure-

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lius was the ſon of Amius Verus, of an ancient and illuſtrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. Lucius Verus was the ſon of Commodus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he ſucceeded to the throne. Aurelius was remarkable for his virtues and accompliſhments, as his partner in the empire was for his ungovernable paſſions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greateſt goodneſs and wiſdom, the other of ignorance, ſloth, and extravagance.

The two emperors had been ſcarce ſettled on the throne when the empire ſeemed attacked on every ſide from the barbarous nations by which it was ſurrounded. The Cati invaded Germany and Rhætia, ravaging all with fire and ſword; but were after ſome time repelled by Victorinus. The Britains likewiſe revolted, but were repreſſed by Califurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologeſus, made an irruption ſtill more dreadful than either of the former, deſtroying the Roman legions in Armenia, then entering Syria and driving out the Roman governor, and filling the whole country with terror and confuſion. In order to ſtop the progreſs of this barbarous irruption, Verus himſelf went in perſon, being accompanied by Aurelius part of the way.

Verus, upon entering Antioch, gave an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war, rioting in exceſſes, unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks, leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants who were ſent to repreſs the enemy. Theſe, however, fought with great ſucceſs; Statius Priſcus took Artazata; Martius put Vologeſus to flight, took Seleucia, plundered and burnt Babylon and Cteſiphon, and demoliſhed the magnificent palace of the kings of Parthia. In a courſe of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely ſubdued it; but, upon their return, their army was waſted to leſs than half its former number by peſtilence and famine. However, this was no impediment to the vanity of Verus, who reſolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph ſo hardly earned by others. Wherefore, having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely ſubdued, he aſſumed the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus, and then returned to Rome to

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partake of a triumph with Aurelius, which was accordingly ſolemnized with great pomp and ſplendor.

During the courſe of this expedition, which continued for ſome years, Aurelius was ſedulouſly intent upon diſtributing juſtice and happineſs to his ſubjects at home. He firſt applied himſelf to the regulation of public affairs, and to the correcting ſuch faults as he found in the laws and policy of the ſtate. In this endeavour he ſhewed a ſingular reſpect for the ſenate, often permitting them to determine without appeal; ſo that the commonwealth ſeemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable adminiſtration. Beſides, ſuch was his application to buſineſs, that he often employed ten days together upon the ſame ſubject, maturely conſidering it on all ſides, and ſeldom departing from the ſenate-houſe till night coming on the aſſembly was diſmiſſed by the conſul. But while thus glorioufly occupied, he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague, being repeatedly aſſured of his vanity, lewdneſs, and extravagance.—However, feigning himſelf ignorant of theſe exceſſes, he judged marriage to be the beſt method of reclaiming him, and therefore ſent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a diſpoſition very unlike her father, and inſtead of correcting her huſband's extravagancies, only contributed to enflame them. Yet Aurelius ſtill hoped that upon the return of Verus to Rome his preſence would keep him in awe, and that happineſs would at length be reſtored to the ſtate. But in this alſo he was diſappointed. His return only ſeemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia, and diſſeminated the infection into all the provinces through which it paſſed.

Nothing could exceed the miſerable ſtate of the empire ſhortly after the return of Verus. In this horrid picture was repreſented an emperor, unawed by example, or the calamities ſurrounding him, giving way to unheard of debaucheries. A raging peſtilence ſpreading terror and deſolation through all parts of the weſtern world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, ſuch as had never before happened; the products of the earth throughout all Italy devoured by locuſts; all the barbarous nations ſur-

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rounding the empire, the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Quadi, and the Marcomanni, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itself. The priests doing all they could to put a stop to the miseries of the state, by attempting to appease the gods; vowing and offering numberless sacrifices: celebrating all the sacred rites that had ever been known in Rome; and exhibiting the solemnity called Lectisternia, seven days together. To crown the whole, these enthusiasts, not satisfied with the impending calamities, making new, by ascribing the distresses of the state to the impieties of the christians alone: so that a violent persecution was seen reigning in all parts of the empire, in which Justin Martyr, St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and an infinite number of others, suffered martyrdom.

In this scene of universal tumult, desolation, and distress, there was nothing left but the virtues and the wisdom of one man alone to restore to tranquility and bring back happiness to the empire. Aurelius began his endeavours by marching against the Marcomanni and Quadi, taking Verus with him, who reluctantly left the sensual delights of Rome for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni near the city of Aquileia, and after a furious engagement routed their whole army: then pursuing them across the Alps, overcame them in several contests, and at last, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy without any considerable loss. As the winter was far advanced, Verus was determined upon going from Aquileia to Rome, in which journey he was seized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life, being thirty-nine years old, having reigned in conjunction with Aurelius nine. Aurelius, who had hitherto sustained the fatigues of governing not only an empire but his colleague, being left to himself, began to act with greater diligence, and more vigour than ever. U.C. 922. A.D. 169.

After having subdued the Marcomanni, a barbarous people that had made inroads upon the empire, he returned to Rome, where he began his usual endeavours to benefit mankind by a farther reformation of the internal policy of the state.

But his good endeavours were soon interrupted by a

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renewal of the former wars, in one of the engagements of which he is ſaid to have been miraculouſly relieved, when his army was periſhing with thirſt, by the prayers of a chriſtian legion which had been levied in his ſervice. For, at that dreadful juncture, and juſt as the barbarians were ready to fall upon them, we are aſſured, there fell ſuch a ſhower of rain as inſtantly refreſhed the fainting army. The ſoldiers were ſeen holding their mouths and their helmets up to heaven, and receiving the water which came ſo wonderfully to their relief. The ſame clouds alſo which ſerved for their reſcue, at the ſame time diſcharged ſuch a terrible ſtorm of hail, accompanied with thunder, againſt the enemy, as aſtoniſhed and confounded them. By this unlooked for aid, the Romans, recovering ſtrength and courage, once more turned upon their purſuers, and cut them in pieces.

Such are the circumſtances of an engagement, acknowledged by Pagan as well as Chriſtian writers, only with this difference, that the latter aſcribe the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However this be, Aurelius ſeemed ſo ſenſible of miraculous aſſiſtance, that he immediately relaxed the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians, and wrote to the ſenate in favour of their religion.

This good emperor having at a time detected one Avidius in a conſpiracy againſt him, and generouſly granting him his pardon, ſome who were near his perſon took the liberty to blame his conduct, telling him that Avidius would not have been ſo generous had he had been conqueror. To this the emperor replied in this ſublime manner, "I never ſerved the gods ſo ill, or reigned ſo "irregularly, as to fear Avidius could ever be conque-"ror."

He uſually called philoſophy his mother, in oppoſition to the court, which he conſidered as his ſtepmother. He alſo was frequently heard to ſay, "that the people were "happy whoſe philoſophers were kings, or whoſe kings "were philoſophers." He in fact was one of the moſt conſiderable men then in being; and though he had been born in the meaneſt ſtation, his merits as a writer, as his works remain to this day, would have inſured immortality.

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Having thus reſtored proſperity to his ſubjects, and peace to mankind, news was brought him that the Scythians and barbarous nations of the north were up in arms and invading the empire. He once more, therefore reſolved to expoſe his aged perſon in the defence of his country, and made ſpeedy preparations to oppoſe them. He went to the ſenate, for the firſt time, and deſired to have money out of the public treaſury. He then ſpent three whole days in giving the people lectures, by which they might regulate their lives; and, having finiſhed his lectures, departed upon his expedition, amidſt the prayers and lamentations of all his ſubjects. It was upon going to open his third campaign that he was ſeized with the plague at Vienna, which ſtopped the progreſs of his ſucceſs. Nothing, however, could abate his deſire of being beneficial to mankind; his fears for the youth and unpromiſing diſpoſition of Commodus his ſon and ſucceſſor ſeemed to give him great uneaſineſs; wherefore he addreſſed his friends and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed, telling them that as his ſon was now going to loſe a father, he hoped he ſhould find many fathers in them. As he was thus ſpeaking, he was ſeized with a weakneſs which ſtopped his utterance, and which brought him to his end the day following.—He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years and ſome days; and it ſeemed as if the whole glory and proſperity of the Roman empire died with this greateſt of the Roman emperors.

CHAP. XXIV.

From Commodus to the transferring the ſeat of the empire under Conſtantine from Rome to Byzantium.

[U. C. 933. A. D. 180.]

THE merits of Aurelius procured Commodus an eaſy acceſſion to the throne. He was acknowledged emperor firſt by the army, then by the ſenate and people, and ſhortly after by all the provinces.

His whole reign is but a tiſſue of wantonneſs and folly, cruelty and injuſtice, rapacity and corruption. There

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is so strong a similitude between his conduct and that of Domitian, that a reader might be apt to imagine he was going over the same reign.

He went with his associates to taverns and brothels; spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable luxuries, having no less than three hundred females, and as many males, for detestable purposes. He committed incest, as Caligula did, with all his sisters.—He sometimes went about the markets in a frolic with small wares as a petty chapman; sometimes he imitated a horse courser, and at other times drove his own chariot in a slave's habit, while those he chiefly promoted resembled himself, being the companions of his pleasures or the ministers of his cruelty.

If any person desired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a sum of money he was permitted to destroy him in such a manner as he thought proper. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts for reading the life of Caligula in Suetonius. He ordered another to be thrown in a burning furnace for accidentally overheating his bath. He would sometimes, when he was in a good humour, cut off men's noses under a pretence of shaving their beards; and yet he was himself so jealous of all mankind that he was obliged to be his own barber.

At length, upon the feast of Janus, resolving to fence naked before the people as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonstrated to him upon the indecency of such a behaviour. These were Lætus, his general, Electus, his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared excessively fond. Their advice was attended with no other effect than that of incensing him against them, and inciting him to resolve upon their destruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to set down the names of all such as he intended to put to death, in a roll which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time, happening to lay the roll on his bed while he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy whom he passionately loved. The child, after playing with it for some time, brought it to Marcia, who was instantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately discovered her terrors to Lætus and Electus, who

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perceiving their dangerous situation, instantly resolved the tyrant's death. After some deliberation it was agreed upon to dispatch him by poison; but this not succeeding, Marcia hastily introduced a young man called Narcissus, and prevailed upon him to assist in strangling the tyrant. Commodus died in the thirty-first year of his age, after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months.

The secrecy and expedition with which Commodus was assassinated were such that few were at that time acquainted with the real circumstances of his death. His body was wrapped up as a bale of useless furniture, and carried through the guards, most of whom were either drunk or asleep. U. C. 945. A. D. 192.

Previous to the assassination, the conspirators had fixed upon a successor. Helvius Pertinax, whose virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the most exalted station, and who had passed through many changes of fortune, was fixed upon to succeed him; when, therefore, the conspirators repaired to his house to salute him emperor, he considered their arrival as a command from the emperor Commodus for his death. Upon Lætus entering his apartment, Pertinax, without any shew of fear, cried out, That for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, wondering that the emperor had deferred it so long. However, he was not a little surprised when informed of the real cause of their visit; and being strongly urged to accept of the empire, he at last complied with their offer.

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and soon after the citizens and senate consented; the joy at the election of their new sovereign being scarce equal to that for the death of their tyrant. They then pronounced Commodus a parricide, an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind, and commanded that his corpse should rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time, they saluted Pertinax, as emperor and Cæsar, with numerous acclamations, and chearfully took the oaths of obedience. The provinces soon after followed the example of Rome; so that he began his reign with universal satisfaction to the whole empire in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

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Nothing could exceed the juſtice and wiſdom of this monarch's reign the ſhort time it continued. But the prætorian ſoldiers, whoſe manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profuſion of their former monarch, began to hate him for the parſimony and diſcipline he had introduced among them. They therefore reſolved to dethrone him; and accordingly, in a tumultuous manner, marched through the ſtreets of Rome, entered his palace without oppoſition, where a Tungrian ſoldier ſtruck him dead with a blow of his launce. From the number of his adventures, he was called the Tennis ball of Fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced ſuch a variety of ſituations with ſo blameleſs a character. He reigned but three months.

U. C. 945. A. D. 192. The ſoldiers, having committed this outrage, made proclamation that they would ſell the empire to whoever would purchaſe it at the higheſt price. In conſequence of this proclamation, two bidders were found, namely, Sulpician and Didius. The former, a conſular perſon, præfect of the city, and ſon-in-law to the late emperor Pertinax. The latter, a conſular perſon likewiſe, a great lawyer, and the wealthieſt man in the city. Sulpician had rather promiſes than treaſures to beſtow. The offers of Didius, who produced immenſe ſums of ready money prevailed. He was received into the camp, and the ſoldiers inſtantly ſwore to obey him as emperor.

Upon being conducted to the ſenate-houſe, he addreſſed the few ſenators that were preſent in a very laconic ſpeech. "Fathers, you want an emperor, and I am the "fitteſt perſon you can chuſe." The choice of the ſoldiers was confirmed by the ſenate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor, now in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age.

It ſhould ſeem, by this weak monarch's conduct when ſeated on the throne, that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleaſure than a toil. Inſtead of attempting to gain the hearts of his ſubjects, he gave himſelf up to eaſe and inactivity, utterly regardleſs of the duties of his ſtation. He was mild and gentle indeed, neither injuring any nor expecting to be injured. But

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that avarice, by which he became opulent, ſtill followed him in his exaltation; ſo that the very ſoldiers who elected him ſoon began to deteſt him for thoſe qualities ſo very oppoſite to a military character. The people alſo, againſt whoſe conſent he was choſen, were not leſs his enemies. Whenever he iſſued from his palace they openly poured forth their imprecations againſt him, crying out that he was a thief, and had ſtolen the empire. Didius, however, in the true ſpirit of a trader, patiently bore all their reproach, ſometimes beckoning to them with ſmiles to approach him, and teſtifying his regard by every kind of ſubmiſſion.

Soon after, Severus, an African by birth, being proclaimed by his army, began by promiſing to revenge the death of Pertinax.

Didius, upon being informed of his approach towards Rome, obtained the conſent of the ſenate to ſend him ambaſſadors, offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this offer, conſcious of his own ſtrength, and of the weakneſs of the propoſer. The ſenate ſoon appeared of the ſame ſentiments; and perceiving the timidity and weakneſs of their preſent maſter, abandoned him. Being called together, as was formerly practiſed in the times of the commonwealth, by the conſuls, they unanimouſly decreed that Didius ſhould be deprived of the empire, and that Severus ſhould be proclaimed in his ſtead. They commanded Didius to be ſlain, and ſent meſſengers for this purpoſe to the palace, where they found him diſarmed, and diſpatched him, among a few friends that ſtill adhered to his intereſt.

Severus having overcome Niger and Albinus, who were his competitors for the empire, undertook next the reins of government, uniting great vigour with the moſt refined policy; yet his African cunning, for he was a native of Africa, was conſidered as a particular defect in him. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence, but equally blamed for perfidy and cruelty. In ſhort, he ſeemed equally capable of the greateſt acts of virtue and the moſt bloody ſeverities.

Upon his return to Rome he loaded his ſoldiers with rewards and honours, giving them ſuch privileges as ſtrengthened his own power, while they deſtroyed that

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of the ſtate. For the ſoldiers, who had hitherto ſhewed the ſtrongeſt inclinations to an abuſe of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of Emperors.

Being thus ſecure of his army, he reſolved to give way to his natural turn for conqueſt, and to oppoſe his arms againſt the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having therefore previouſly given the government of domeſtic policy to one Plautian, a particular favorite, to whoſe daughter he married his ſon Caracalla, he ſet out for the eaſt, and proſecuted the war with his uſual expedition and ſucceſs. He forced ſubmiſſion from the king of Armenia, deſtroyed ſeveral cities in Arabia Felix, landed on the Parthian coaſts, took and plundered the famous city of Cteſiphon, marched back through Paleſtine and Egypt, and at length returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plautian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began to think of aſpiring to the empire himſelf. Upon the emperor's return he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was the commander, to aſſaſſinate him, as likewiſe his ſon Caracalla. The tribune informed Severus of his favourite's treachery. He at firſt received it as an improbable ſtory, and as the artifice of one who envied his favorite's fortune. However he was at laſt perſuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plautian to the emperor's apartments, to be a teſtimony againſt himſelf. With this intent the tribune went and amuſed him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his ſon; deſiring him, if he thought fit to ſee him dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plautian ardently deſired their deaths he readily gave credit to his relation; and following the tribune, was conducted at midnight into the innermoſt receſſes. But what muſt have been his diſappointment, when, inſtead of finding the emperor lying dead as he expected, he beheld the room lighted up with torches, and Severus, ſurrounded by his friends, prepared in array to receive him. Being aſked by the emperor, with a ſtern countenance, what had brought him there at that unſeaſonable time; he was at firſt utterly confounded, and not knowing what excuſe to make, he ingeniouſly confeſſed the whole, intreating forgiveneſs for what he had inten-

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ded. The emperor seemed inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, his son, who, from the earliest age, shewed a disposition to cruelty, with his sword ran him through the body.

After this he spent a considerable time in visiting some cities in Italy, permitting none of his officers to sell places of trust or dignity, and distributing justice with the strictest impartiality. He then undertook an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being destroyed, or compelled to fly the province. Wherefore, after appointing his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire, and taking them with him, he landed in Britain, to the great terror of such as had drawn down his resentment. Upon his progress into the country he left his son Geta in the southern part of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched with his son Caracalla against the Caledonians. In this expedition his army suffered prodigious hardships in pursuing the enemy; they were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; so that he lost fifty thousand men by fatigue and sickness. However he supported all these inconveniencies with unrelenting bravery, and prosecuted his successes with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for peace; which they obtained not without the surrender of a considerable part of their country. It was there, that for its better security, he built that famous wall, which still goes by his name, extending from Solway Firth on the west to the German ocean on the east. He did not long survive his successes here, but died at York in the sixty sixth year of his age, after an active though cruel reign of about eighteen years.

U. C. 964. A. D. 211. Caracalla and Geta, his sons, being acknowledged as emperors by the army, began to shew a mutual hatred to each other even before their arrival at Rome. But this opposition was of no long continuance; for Caracalla being resolved to govern alone, furiously entered Geta's apartment, and, followed by ruffians, slew him in his mother's arms.

Being thus emperor, he went on to mark his course with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian or Nero

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fell short of this monster's barbarities. His tyrannies at length excited the resentment of Macrinus, the commander of the forces in Mesopotamia, who employed one Martial, a man of great strength, and a centurion of the guards to dispatch him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day, near a little city called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himself privately upon a natural occasion, with only one page to hold his horse. This was the opportunity Martial had so long and ardently desired; wherefore, running to him hastily as if he had been called, he stabbed the emperor in the back, so that he died immediately. Having performed this hardy attempt, he then unconcernedly returned to his troops; but, retiring by insensible degrees, he endeavoured to secure himself by flight. But his companions soon missing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was pursued by the German horse and cut in pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued six years, the empire was every day declining; the soldiers were entirely masters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, so there were as many interests all opposite to each other.

U. C. 970. A. D. 217. The soldiers, without an emperor, after a suspence of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who took all possible methods to conceal his being privy to Caracalla's murder. The senate confirmed their choice shortly after, and likewise that of his son Diadumenus, whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was fifty-three years old when he entered upon the government of the empire. He was of obscure parentage, some say by birth a Moor; who, by the mere rotation of office, being made first præfect of the prætorian bands, was now by treason and accident called to fill the throne.

He was opposed by the intrigues of Mosa and her grand-son, Heliogabalus; and, being conquered by some seditious legions of his own army, he fled to Chalcedon, where those who were sent in pursuit overtook and put him to death, together with his son Diadumenus, after a short reign of one year and two months.

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The senate and citizens of Rome being obliged to submit to the appointment of the army, as usual, Heliogabalus ascended the throne at the age of fourteen. His short life is but a tissue of effeminacy, lust and extravagance. He married, in the small space of four years, six wives, and divorced them all. He was so fond of the sex that he carried his mother with him to the senate-house, and demanded that she should always be present when matters of importance were debated. He even went so far as to build a senate-house for women, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was made president.—They met several times: all their debates turning upon the fashions of the day, and the different formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits. To these follies he added great cruelty and boundless prodigality; so that he was heard to say that such dishes as were cheaply obtained were scarce worth eating. It is even said he strove to foretel what was to happen, by inspecting the entrails of young men sacrificed, and that he chose the most beautiful youths throughout Italy to be slain for that horrid purpose. U. C. 971. A. D. 218.

However, his soldiers mutinying, as was now usual with them; they followed him to his palace, pursuing him from apartment to apartment, till at last he was found concealed in a privy. Having dragged him from thence through the streets with most bitter invectives, and having dispatched him, they attempted once more to squeeze his pampered body into a privy; but not easily affecting this, they threw it into the Tyber with heavy weights, that none might afterwards find or give it burial. This was the ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a detestable reign of four years.

To him succeeded Alexander, his cousin-german; who, without opposition, being declared emperor, the senate with their usual adulation, were for conferring new titles upon him; but he modestly declined them all. To the most rigid justice he added the greatest humanity. He loved the good, and was a severe reprover of the lewd and infamous.— U. C. 975. A. D. 222.

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His accomplishments were equal to his virtues. He was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and musician; he was equally skilful in painting and sculpture: and in poetry few of his time could equal him. In short, such were his talents, and such the solidity of his judgment, that though but sixteen years of age he was considered as a wise old man.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the Upper-Germans, and other northern nations, began to pour down immense swarms of people upon the more southern parts of the empire. They passed the Rhine and the Danube with such fury, that all Italy was thrown into the most extreme consternation. The emperor ever ready to expose his person for the safety of his people, made what levies he could, and went in person to stem the torrent, which he speedily effected. It was in the course of his successes against the enemy that he was cut off by a mutiny among his own soldiers. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days.

U.C. 988. A.D. 235. The tumults occasioned by the death of Alexander being appeased, Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of the sedition, was chosen emperor. This extraordinary man, whose character deserves particular attention, was born of very obscure parentage, being the son of a poor herdsman of Thrace. In the beginning he followed his father's humble profession, and only exercised his personal courage against the robbers who infested that part of the country in which he lived. Soon after, his ambition increasing, he left his poor employment, and enlisted in the Roman army, where he soon became remarkable for his great strength, discipline, and courage. This gigantic man was no less than eight feet and an half high; he had a body and strength corresponding to his size, being not less remarkable for the magnitude than the symmetry of his person. His wife's bracelet usually served him for a thumb ring; and his strength was so great that he was able to draw a carriage which two oxen could not move. He could strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist, and break its thigh bone with a kick. His diet was

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as extraordinary as the reſt of his endowments: he generally ate forty pounds weight of fleſh every day, and drank ſix gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame ſo atheletic, he was poſſeſſed of a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing nor regarding any man. The firſt time he was made known was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth-day of his ſon Geta. He overcame ſixteen in running, one after the other; he then kept up with the emperor on horſeback; and, having fatigued him in the courſe, he was oppoſed to ſeven of the moſt active ſoldiers, and overcame them with the greateſt eaſe. From that time he was particularly noticed, and taken into the emperor's body guard, and by the uſual gradation of preferment came to be chief commander, equally remarkable for his ſimplicity, diſcipline, and virtue; and, upon coming to the empire, he was found to be one of the greateſt monſters of cruelty that ever diſgraced power; and fearful of nothing himſelf, he ſeemed to ſport with the terrors of all mankind.

However, his cruelties did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with a ſpirit becoming a better monarch. He overthrew the Germans in ſeveral battles, waſted all their country with fire and ſword for four hundred miles together, and ſet a reſolution of ſubduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In theſe expeditions, in order to attach the ſoldiers more firmly to him, he increaſed their pay; and in every duty of the camp he himſelf took as much pains as the meaneſt centinel in his army, ſhewing incredible courage and aſſiduity. In every engagement, wherever the conflict was hotteſt, Maximin was always ſeen fighting there in perſon, and deſtroying all before him: for, being bred a barbarian, he conſidered it as his duty to combat as a common ſoldier while he commanded as a general.

In the mean time, his cruelties had ſo alienated the minds of his ſubjects that ſeveral conſpiracies were ſecretly aimed againſt him. None of them, however, ſucceeded, till at laſt his own ſoldiers, being long harraſſed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolt on every ſide,

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reſolved to terminate their calamities by the tyrant's death. His great ſtrength, and his being always armed, were at firſt the principal motives to deter any from aſſaſſinating him; but at length, having made his guards accomplices in their deſign, they ſet upon him while he ſlept at noon in his tent, and ſlew both him and his ſon, whom he had made his partner in the empire, without any oppoſition. Thus died this moſt remarkable man, after an uſurpation of about three years, and in the ſixty-fifth year of his age. His aſſiduity when in humble ſtation, and his cruelty when in power, ſerve very well to evince that there are ſome men whoſe virtues were fitted for obſcurity, as there are others who only ſhew themſelves great when placed in an exalted ſtation.

U.C. 991. A.D. 339. The tyrant being dead and his body thrown to dogs and birds of prey, Pupienus and Balbinus continued for ſome time emperors without oppoſition.

But differing among themſelves, the prætorian ſoldiers, who were the enemies of both, ſet upon them in their palace, at a time when their guards were amuſed with ſeeing the Capitoline games, and dragging them from the palace towards the camp, ſlew them both, leaving their dead bodies in the ſtreets as a dreadful inſtance of their ſedition.

U.C. 991. A.D. 238. In the midſt of this ſedition, as the mutineers were proceeding along, they by accident met Gordian, the grandſon of him who was ſlain in Africa, whom they declared emperor on the ſpot. This prince was but ſixteen years old when he began his reign; but his virtues ſeemed to compenſate for his want of experience. His principal aims were to unite the oppoſing members of the government, and to reconcile the ſoldiers and citizens to each other.

The army, however, began as uſual to murmur, and their complaints were artfully fomented by Philip, an Arabian, who was prætorian præfect. Things thus proceeding from bad to worſe, Philip was at firſt made equal in the command of the empire; ſhortly after, he was inveſted with the ſole power; and at length, finding himſelf capable of perpetrating his long meditated cruelty,

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Gordian was, by his order, ſlain in the twenty ſecond year of his age, after a ſucceſsful reign of near ſix years.

Philip, having thus murdered his benefactor, was ſo fortunate as to be immediately acknowledged emperor by the army. Upon his exaltation, he aſſociated his ſon, a boy of ſix years of age, as his partner in the empire; and, in order to ſecure his power at home, made peace with the Perſians, and marched his army towards Rome. However, the army revolting in favour of Decius his general, and ſetting violently upon him, one of the centinels, at a blow, cut off his head, or rather cleaved it aſunder, ſeparating the under jaw from the upper. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years, Decius being univerſally declared as his ſucceſſor. U. C. 996. A. D. 243.

The activity and wiſdom of Decius ſeemed in ſome meaſure to ſtop the haſtening decline of the Roman empire. The ſenate ſeemed to think ſo highly of his merits that they voted him not inferior to Trajan; and indeed he ſeemed in every inſtance to conſult their dignity in particular, and the welfare of all the inferior ranks of people. U. C. 1001. A. D. 248.

But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfal of the ſtate: the obſtinate diſputes between the Pagans and the Chriſtians within the empire, and the unceaſing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of remedy. He was killed in an ambuſcade of the enemy in the fiftieth year of his age, after a ſhort reign of two years and ſix months.

Gallus, who had betrayed the Roman army, had addreſs enough to get himſelf declared emperor by that part of it which ſurvived the defeat; he was forty five years old when he began to reign, and was deſcended from an honourable family in Rome. He was the firſt who bought a diſhonourable peace from the enemies of the ſtate, agreeing to pay a conſiderable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repreſs. U. C. 1004. A. D. 251.

He was regardleſs of every national calamity, and loſt to debauch and ſenſuality. The Pagans were al-

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lowed a power of perfecuting the Chriſtians through all parts of the ſtate. Theſe calamities were ſucceeded by a peſtilence from Heaven that ſeemed to have in general ſpread over every part of the earth, and which continued raging for ſeveral years in an unheard of manner; and all theſe by a civil war which followed ſhortly after between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor by his conquering army. Gallus hearing this, ſoon rouſed from the intoxication of pleaſure, and prepared to oppoſe his dangerous rival, he with his ſon, were ſlain by Æmilianus in a battle fought in Meſia. His death was merited, and his vices were ſuch as to deſerve the deteſtation of poſterity. He died in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months, in which the empire ſuffered inexpreſſible calamities.

U. C. 1006. A. D. 253. The ſenate refuſed to acknowledge the claims of Æmilianus; and an army that was ſtationed near the Alps choſe Valerian, their own commander, to ſucceed to the throne, who ſet about reforming the ſtate with a ſpirit that ſeemed to mark a good mind and unabated vigour. But reformation was then grown almoſt impracticable. The Perſians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and, coming into Meſopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian priſoner as he was making preparations to oppoſe them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties which were practiſed upon this unhappy monarch thus fallen into the hands of his enemies.—Sapor, we are told, always uſed him as a footſtool for mounting his horſe; he added the bitterneſs of ridicule to his inſults, and uſually obſerved, "that an attitude "like that to which Valerian was reduced was the beſt "ſtatue that could be erected in honour of his victory." This horrid life of inſult and ſufferance continued for ſeven years, and was at length terminated by the cruel Perſian's commanding his priſoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards cauſing him to be flayed alive.

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Valerian being taken prisoner, as hath been just mentioned, Galienus his son promising to revenge the insult, was chosen emperor, being then about forty one years old. However, he soon discovered that he sought rather the splendours than the toils of empire; for after having overthrown Ingenuus, a commander in Pannonia, who had assumed the title of emperor, he sat down, as if fatigued with conquest, and gave himself up to ease and luxury. U. C. 1012. A. D. 259.

It was at this time that no less than thirty pretenders were seen contending with each other for the dominion of the state, and adding the calamities of civil war to the rest of the misfortunes of this devoted empire.—These are generally known in history by the name of the Thirty Tyrants.

In this general calamity, Galienus, though at first seemingly insensible, was at length obliged, for his own private security, to take the field, and led an army to besiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the thirty usurping tyrants. It was there he was slain by his own soldiers; Martian, one of his generals, having conspired against him.

Flavius Claudius being nominated to succeed, he was joyfully accepted by all orders of the state, and his title confirmed by the senate and the people. We are not sufficiently assured of this emperor's lineage and country. Some affirm that he was born in Dalmatia, and descended from an ancient family there; others assert that he was a Trojan, and others still that he was son to the emperor Gordian. But whatever might have been his descent, his merits were by no mean doubtful. He was a man of great valour and conduct, having performed the most excellent services against the Goths, who had long continued to make their irruptions into the empire; but on his march against that barbarous people, as he approached near the city Sirmium, in Pannonia, he was seized with a pestilential fever, of which he died in a few days, to the great regret of his subjects, and the irreparable loss of the Roman empire. U. C. 1021. A. D. 268.

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U. C. 1023. A. D. 270. Upon the death of Claudius, Aurelian was univerſally acknowledged by all the ſtates of the empire, and aſſumed the command with a greater ſhare of power than his predeceſſors had enjoyed for ſome time before. This active monarch was born of mean and obſcure parentage in Dacia, and was about fifty-five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had ſpent the early part of his life in the army, and had riſen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unſhaken courage and amazing ſtrength; he in one ſingle engagement killed forty of the enemy with his own hand, and above nine hundred at ſeveral different times. In ſhort, his valour and expedition were ſuch that he was compared to Julius Cæſar, and in fact only wanted mildneſs and clemency to be every way his equal.

Among the number of thoſe who were compelled to ſubmit to his power, we may reckon the famous Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. He ſubdued her country, deſtroyed her city, and took her priſoner. Longinus, the celebrated critic, who was ſecretary to the queen, was by Aurelian's order put to death. Zenobia was reſerved to grace his triumph, and afterwards allotted ſuch lands, and ſuch an income, as ſerved to maintain her in almoſt her former ſplendour.

His ſeverities at laſt were the cauſe of his deſtruction. Moneſteus, his principal ſecretary, having been threatened by him for ſome fault which he had committed, formed a conſpiracy againſt him: and as the emperor paſſed with a ſmall guard from Uraclea in Thrace towards Byzantium, the conſpirators ſet upon him at once, and ſlew him with very ſmall reſiſtance. He was ſlain in the ſixtieth; or, as ſome ſay, the ſixty-third year of his age, after a very active reign of almoſt five years.

U. C. 1028. A. D. 275. After ſome time the ſenate made choice of Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious of the honours that were offered him, being at that time ſeventy-five years old.

A reign, begun with much moderation and juſtice, only wanted continuance to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the empire about ſix months he

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died of a fever in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire.

During this short period, the senate seemed to have a large share of authority; and the historians of the times are one and all liberal of their praises to such emperors as were thus willing to divide their power.

Upon the death of Tacitus, the whole army, as if by common consent, cried out that Probus should be emperor. He was forty four years old when he ascended the throne; was born of noble parentage at Sirmium in Pannonia, and bred up a soldier from his youth. He began early to distinguish himself for his discipline and valour, being frequently the first man that, in besieging towns, scaled the walls, or that burst into the enemy's camp. He was equally remarkable for single combats, and saving the lives of many eminent citizens: nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, less apparent than in his private station. Every year now produced only new calamities to the empire, and fresh irruptions on every side threatened universal desolation: perhaps at this time no abilities, except those of Probus, were capable of opposing such united invasions.

However, in the end, his own mutinous soldiers, taking their opportunity as he was marching into Greece, set upon and slew him, after he had reigned six years and four months with general approbation.

Carus, who was prætorian præfect to the deceased emperor, was chosen by the army to succeed him; and he, to strengthen his authority, united his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command; the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage. Carus was shortly after his exaltation struck dead by lightening in his tent, with many others that were round him. U. C. 1035. A. D. 282.

Numerian, the youngest son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought such a disorder upon his eyes with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situa-

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tion, after some time, excited the ambition of Asper, his father in-law, who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He therefore hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his litter; and the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. The offensiveness, however, of his smell at length discovered the treachery, and excited an universal uproar throughout the whole army. In the midst of this tumult, Diocletian, one of the most noted commanders of his time, was chosen emperor, and with his own hand slew Asper; having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a prophecy, which had said that Diocletian should be emperor after he had slain a Boar.

Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother.

U. C. 1037. A. D. 284. Diocletian was a person of mean birth, being supposed to be, according to some, the son of a scrivener; and of a slave, according to others. He received his name from Dioclea, the town in which he was born, being forty years old when he was elected to the empire. He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit, having passed through all the gradations of office with sagacity, courage, and success.

In his time, the northern hive, as it was called, poured down their swarms of barbarians upon the Roman empire. Ever at war with the Romans, they issued, when the armies that were to repress their invasions were called away; and, upon their return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold, barren, and inaccessible retreats, which only themselves could endure. In this manner the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carsii, and Quadi, came down in incredible numbers, while every defeat seemed but to increase their strength and perseverance. After gaining many victories over these, and in the midst of his triumphs, Diocletian and Maximian, his partner in the empire, surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and both retiring into private stations. In this contented manner Diocletian lived some time, and at last died either by poison or madness; but this is uncertain. His reign,

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which continued twenty years, was active and useful; and his authority, which was tinctured with severity, was well adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

Upon the resignation of the two emperors, the two Cæsars, whom they had before chosen, were universally acknowledged as their successors, namely, Constantius Chlorus, who was so called from the paleness of his complexion, being virtuous, valiant, and merciful; and Galerius, who was brave, but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was such a disparity in their tempers, they readily agreed upon coming into full power to divide the empire, Constantius being appointed to govern the western parts. U. C. 1057. A. D. 304.

Constantius died in Britain, appointing Constantine his son as his successor. Galerius was seized with a very extraordinary disorder in his privities, which baffled all the skill of his physicians, and carried him off, after he had languished in torments for near the space of a year.

Constantine, afterwards surnamed the Great, had some competitors at first for the throne. Among the rest was Maxentius, who was at that time in possession of Rome, and a stedfast assertor of Paganism. It was in Constantine's march against that usurper that we are assured he was converted to Christianity by a very extraordinary appearance. One evening, as we are told, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was taken up with various considerations upon the fate of sublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition: sensible of his own incapacity to succeed without divine assistance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions that were chiefly agitated among mankind, and sent up ejaculations to Heaven to inspire him with wisdom to chuse the path to pursue. It was then, as the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared a pillar of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross, with this inscription, *In this overcome.* So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment both in the emperor and his whole army, who considered it as their U. C. 1064. A. D. 311.

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various diſpoſitions led them to believe. Thoſe who were attached to Paganiſm, prompted by their auſpices, pronounced it to be a moſt inauſpicious omen, portending the moſt unfortunate events; but it made a different impreſſion on the emperor's mind, who, as the account goes, was farther encouraged by viſions the ſame night. He therefore the day following cauſed a royal ſtandard to be made, like that which he had ſeen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an enſign of victory and celeſtial protection. After this he conſulted with ſeveral of the principal teachers of Chriſtianity, and made a public avowal of that ſacred perſuaſion.

Conſtantine having thus attached his ſoldiers to his intereſt, who were moſt of the Chriſtian perſuaſion, loſt no time in entering Italy with ninety thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, and ſoon advanced almoſt to the very gates of Rome. Maxentius advanced from the city with an army of an hundred and ſeventy thouſand foot, and eighteen thouſand horſe. The engagement was for ſome time fierce and bloody, till his cavalry being routed, victory declared upon the ſide of his opponent: and he himſelf, was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to croſs the Tyber.

Conſtantine, in conſequence of this victory, entering the city, diſclaimed all praiſes which the ſenate and people were ready to offer, aſcribing his ſucceſs to a ſuperior power. He even cauſed the croſs, which he was ſaid to have ſeen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his ſtatues, with this inſcription, "That under the influence of that victorious croſs, Conſtantine "had delivered the city from the yoke of tyrannical "power; and had reſtored the ſenate and people of "Rome to their ancient authority." He afterwards ordained, that no criminal ſhould for the future ſuffer death by the croſs, which had formerly been the moſt uſual way of puniſhing ſlaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were ſoon after iſſued, declaring, that the Chriſtians ſhould be eaſed from all their grievances, and received into places of truſt and authority.

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Things continued in this ſtate for ſome time, Conſtantine contributing what was in his power to the intereſt of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almoſt wholly extinct in the empire. But in the midſt of theſe aſſiduities, the peace of the empire was again diſturbed by the preparations of Maximin who governed in the eaſt, and who, deſirous of a full participation of power, marched againſt Licinius with a very numerous army. In conſequence of this ſtep, after many conflicts, a general engagement enſued, in which Maximin ſuffered a total defeat; many of his troops were cut to pieces, and thoſe that ſurvived ſubmitted to the conqueror. Having, however, eſcaped the general carnage, he once more put himſelf at the head of another army, reſolving to try the fortune of the field; but his death prevented the deſign. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madneſs, the chriſtians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to aſcribe his end to a judgment from heaven; but this was the age in which falſe judgments and falſe miracles made up the bulk of uninſtructive hiſtory.

Conſtantine and Licinius thus remaining indiſputed poſſeſſors and partners in the empire, all things promiſed a peaceable continuance of friendſhip and power. However, it was ſoon found that the ſame ambition that aimed after a part would be content with nothing leſs than the whole. Pagan writers aſcribe the rupture between theſe two potentates to Conſtantine; while the Chriſtians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both ſides exerted all their power to make oppoſition, and, at the head of very formidable armies came to an engagement near Cybalis in Pannonia. Conſtantine, previous to the battle, in the midſt of his Chriſtian biſhops, begged the aſſiſtance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the Pagan prieſts to intercede with the gods in his favour. The ſucceſs was on the ſide of truth. Conſtantine, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, became victorious, took the enemy's camp, and after ſome time compelled Licinius to ſue for a truce, which was agreed upon. But this was of no long continuance; for ſoon after, the war breaking out afreſh,

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and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved decisive. Licinius was entirely defeated and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself up to the victor, having first obtained an oath that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Constantine shortly after broke; for, either fearing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian his general, who some time before had been created Cæsar.

Constantine, being thus sole monarch of the empire, resolved to establish christianity on so sure a basis that no new revolutions should shake it. He commanded that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed. He called also a general council of these, in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this place repaired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides, a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself, who, all except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this heresiarch, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the empire.

Having thus restored universal tranquility to the empire, he was not able to ward off the calamities of a more domestic nature. As the wretched histories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to tell the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is this: Fausta the empress, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant desires, had long, though secretly, loved Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual passion; and, finding her most distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her desires. This produced an explanation which was fatal to both. Crispus received her addresses with detestation, and she, to be revenged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die

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without an hearing: nor did his innocence appear till it was too late for redreſs. The only reparation, therefore, that remained was putting Fauſta, the wicked inſtrument of his former cruelty, to death; which was accordingly executed upon her, together with ſome others who had been accomplices in her falſehood and treachery.

But it is ſuppoſed that all the good he did was not equal to recompence the evil the empire ſuſtained by his transferring the ſeat of it from Rome to Byzantium, or Conſtantinople as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reaſons which induced him to this undertaking, whether it was becauſe he was offended at ſome affronts he had received at Rome, or that he ſuppoſed Conſtantinople more in the centre of the empire, or that he thought the eaſtern parts more required his preſence, experience has ſhewn that they were all weak and groundleſs. The empire had long before been in a moſt declining ſtate; but this in great meaſure gave precipitation to its downfal. After this it never reſumed its former ſplendour, but, like a flower tranſplanted into a foreign clime, languiſhed by degrees, and at length ſunk into nothing.

His firſt deſign was to build a city which he might make the capital of the world; and for this purpoſe he made choice of a ſituation at Chalcedon in Aſia Minor; but we are told, that, in laying out the ground plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city which lay upon the oppoſite ſide of the Boſphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the ſeat of empire; and indeed nature ſeemed to have formed it with all the conveniencies and all the beauties which might induce power to make it the ſeat of reſidence. It was ſituated on a plain that roſe gently from the water: it commanded that ſtreight which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine ſea, and was furniſhed with all the advantages which the moſt indulgent climate could beſtow. This city therefore, he beautified with the moſt magnificent edifices; he divided it into fourteen regions; built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, U. C. 1084. A. D. 330.

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and other public works; and having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it in a very ſolemn manner to the God of martyrs; and in about two years after repaired thither with his whole court.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire; the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, ſubmitted to the change; nor was there for two or three years any diſturbance in the ſtate, until at length the Goths, finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garriſons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard of cruelty. Conſtantine, however, ſoon repreſt their incurſions, and ſo ſtraitened them, that near an hundred thouſand of their number periſhed by cold and hunger.

Another great error aſcribed to him is the dividing the empire among his ſons. Conſtantine, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, commanded in Gaul and the weſtern provinces; Conſtantius, his ſecond, governed Africa and Illyricum; and Conſtans, the youngeſt, ruled in Italy. This diviſion of the empire ſtill farther contributed to its downfal; for the united ſtrength of the ſtate being no longer brought to repreſs invaſion, the barbarians fought with ſuperior numbers, and conquered at laſt, though often defeated. Conſtantine was about ſixty years old, and had reigned above thirty, when he found his health began to decline. His diſorder, which was an ague, increaſing, he went to Nicomedia, where, finding himſelf without hopes of a recovery, he cauſed himſelf to be baptized; and having ſoon after received the ſacrament, he expired, after a memorable and active reign of almoſt thirty-two years.

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CHAP. XXV.

Of the destruction of the ROMAN EMPIRE *after the death of Constantine, and the events which hastened its catastrophe.*

FROM this dreary period the recovery of the empire was become desperate; no wisdom could obviate its decadence, no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Were we to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it should be rather of the conquerors not the conquered: of those Gothic chiefs who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conquest of nations corrupted by vice and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were at first unknown to the Romans, and for some time after had been only incommodious to them. But they were now become formidable, and arose in such numbers that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their hideous deserts, amidst regions frightful with eternal snows, and had long only waited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy no courage could avail, nor abilities be successful; a victory only cut off numbers without an habitation and a name, soon to be succeeded by others equally desperate and obscure.

The emperors who had to contend with this people were most of them furnished neither with courage nor conduct to oppose. Their residence in Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire in them to be adored like the monarchs of the east. Sunk in softness, they shewed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers; they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. Constantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives, and unfit to prop the falling empire. Julian,

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his ſucceſſor, ſurnamed the apoſtate upon account of his relapſing into Paganiſm, was notwithſtanding a very good and a very valiant prince. He, by his wiſdom, conduct, and œconomy, chaſed the barbarians that had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine out of their new ſettlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which laſted but two years. Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and ſtrength ſufficient to preſerve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian; the former emperors had drained away all the frontier garriſons merely to ſtrengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine, making levies, raiſing caſtles, placing troops in proper ſtations, and furniſhing them with ſubſiſtence for their ſupport; but an event, that no human prudence could foreſee, brought up a new enemy to aſſiſt in the univerſal deſtruction.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucaſus and the Caſpian ſea, was inhabited by a numerous ſavage people that went by the name of the Huns and Allanes. Their ſoil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. As they imagined it impracticable to croſs the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, ſo that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had aſſigned them, while other nations plundered with ſecurity. It has been the opinion of ſome, that the ſlime which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais had by degrees formed a kind of incruſtation on the ſurface of the Cimmærian Boſphorus, over which thoſe people are ſuppoſed to have paſſed. Others relate, that two young Scythians being in full purſuit of an heifer, the terrified creature ſwam over an arm of the ſea, and the youths immediately following her, found themſelves in a new world upon the oppoſite ſhore. Upon their return they did not fail to relate the wonders of the ſtrange lands and countries which they had diſcovered. Upon their information an innumerable body of Huns paſſed thoſe ſtreights; and, meeting firſt with

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the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube; and, with a suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge.—This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned them several portions of land in Thrace, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated therefore by hunger and resentment, they soon after rose against their protectors; and in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens himself, and the greatest part of his army.

It was in this manner the Roman armies grew weaker; so that the emperors, finding it difficult at last to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger; but when that was over, the Romans found it was as difficult to rid themselves of their new allies as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually under the weight of several attacks made upon it on every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those who succeeded the first spoilers proceeded on to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mysia, and Pannonia; but when these countries were ruined, they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece; and from thence they expatiated to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually shrinking, and Italy at last became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius in some measure retarded the destruction that had begun in the time of Valens; but, upon his death, the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but what was brought in to stop the universal decline proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successor of Theodosius, were able to secure it; being instigated also still further by the artifices of

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one Rufinus, who had designs upon the throne himself: this warlike prince, I say, putting himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the armies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests; and at length putting his mighty designs in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down like a torrent among the fruitful vallies of Italy. This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight; its fields were now turned into gardens of pleasure that only served to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength that furnished soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants therefore beheld with terror a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midst of their country, while their wretched emperor Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still only seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation. But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, that had long sat as mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable situation. In this extremity the senate dispatched their ambassadors to Alaric, desiring him either to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, or to give them leave to fight it with him in the open field. To this message, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burst of laughter, "that thick grass was easier cut than thin;" implying that their troops, when cooped up within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about a peace, he demanded all their riches and all their slaves. When he was asked, "what then he would leave them?" he sternly replied, "their lives." These were hard conditions for such a celebrated city to accept; but compelled by the necessity of the times, they raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and stripping the Heathen temples, and thus

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at length bought off their fierce invaders. But this was but a temporary removal of the calamity; for Alaric now finding that he might become master of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after; pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it; but whether by force or stratagem is not agreed among historians. Thus that city, which for ages had plundered the rest of the world, and enriched herself with the spoils of mankind, now felt in turn the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict, or patience endure. The soldiers had free liberty to pillage all places except the Christian churches; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the Pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days; and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were still numberless traces of the city's former greatness; so that this capture seemed rather a correction than a total overthrow. U. C. 1163. A. D. 418.

But the Gothic conquerors of the West though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how easy it was to become masters of it upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls had in fact made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and as it was situated in a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty. Besides this no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna, a place so fortified by nature, that they could be safe without the assistance of an army. What Alaric therefore spared, Gesneric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy: his merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings, neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection against their lust or avarice.

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The capital of the empire being thus ranſacked ſeveral times, and Italy overrun by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remoteſt ſkirts of Europe: the weſtern emperors for ſome time continued to hold the title without the power of royalty. Honorius lived till he ſaw himſelf ſtripped of the greateſt part of his dominions, his capital taken by the Goths, the Huns ſeized on Pannonia, the Allanes, Sueyi, and Vandals eſtabliſhed in Spain, and the Burgundians ſettled in Gaul, where the Goths alſo fixed themſelves at laſt. After ſome time, the inhabitants of Rome alſo, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the ſupreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain, ſeeing themſelves forſaken, began to regulate themſelves by their own laws. Thus the power of the ſtate was entirely broken, and thoſe who aſſumed the title of emperors only encountered certain deſtruction. At length, even the very name of emperor of the Weſt expired upon the abdication of Auguſtulus; and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, aſſumed the title of king of all Italy. Such was the end of this great empire, that had conquered mankind with its arms, and inſtructed the world with its wiſdom; that had riſen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been eſtabliſhed by a ſpirit of patriotiſm, and that ſunk into ruin when the empire was become ſo extenſive that a Roman citizen was but an empty name. Its final diſſolution happened about five hundred and twenty-two years after the battle of Pharſalia, an hundred and forty-ſix after the removal of the imperial ſeat to Conſtantinople, and four hundred and ſeventy-ſix after the nativity of our Saviour.

FINIS.

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